

Ref: 93-FOI-0513

Mr. Jeffrey M. Goldberg
v.
;

Dear Mr. Goldberg:

This responds to your Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) request of February 22, 1993. Our interim response of March 9, 1993, refers.

We have been advised by the Office of the Executive Secretariat, Organization of the Joint Staff (JS) and the Office of the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense (European and NATO Policy) that the enclosed documents are responsive to your request. The information that has been redacted, and other documents that have been denied in total, are currently and properly classified in accordance with Executive Order 12356, Section 1.3(a)(3), and (5) concerning foreign government information, and foreign relations or foreign activities of the United States the release of which would damage national security, or is an inter agency memorandum which is deliberative in nature and used in the decision making process. Consequently, Major General Gene A. Deegan, USMC, Organization of the Joint Staff, Mr. George W. Badner, Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense, European and NATO Policy, and Commander Richard L. Rodgers, USN, Office of the Executive Secretary, have denied release of the information pursuant to Title 5 USC 552 (b)(1) and (b)(5).

You have the right to appeal General Deegan, Mr. Badner, and Commander Rodgers' decision to deny this information. Any such appeal should offer justification to support reversal of the initial denial and should be forwarded, within 60 calendar days of the date of this letter, to the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Public Affairs), DFOISR, Room 2C757, Pentagon, Washington, DC 20301-1400.

Previously released documents are considered to be in the public domain. Public domain documents are released to subsequent FOIA requesters at the cost of reproduction of the information. This is based on a concept of equity to the general public, wherein the cost to reproduce publicly available documents should be borne by the requester and not the public at large.

#774

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



INTERNATIONAL
SECURITY POLICY

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-2600

In reply, please refer to
1-23920-2

11 FEB 89

MEMORANDUM FOR DIRECTOR, JOINT STAFF

SUBJECT: Air Traffic in the Tyrrhenian Sea (U)

(U)
(S)

Italian MOD Zanone has raised the subject of air traffic in the Tyrrhenian Sea and the inquiry underway regarding the commercial aircraft crash in 1980. As you know Secretary Carlucci had assured him that all information relating to the event held by the US would be provided to the committee of inquiry. Subsequent drawing on your 10 Jan 89 memo, Secretary Taft sent the attached memo to Ambassador Petrignani on 24 Jan 89, reaffirming that the US did not have ships or aircraft operating in the Tyrrhenian Sea at the time of the DC-9 Crash.

(C)

(C)

Ronald F. Lehman II
Ronald F. Lehman II

Attachment

Classified by: DASD Eur/NATO Pol
Declassify on: 7 FEB 89

Mr. Lazarus
ASL/PSI (HUS)
272201 1:4:50

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

93-F-0573
#774
Doc #1



THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20301

24 JAN 1989

His Excellency Rinaldo Petrignani
Ambassador E. and P.
Embassy of Italy
1601 Fuller St., N.W.
Washington, DC 20009

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

Persuant to your request of 27 December 1988, we again checked into whether any U.S. military aircraft or ships were operating in the designated areas on 27 June 1980, and whether we have any information from the radar systems of U.S. equipment operating in or near the area.

All Military Commanders in the area have been queried in response to your Aide Memoire of 27 December 1988 and all information available indicates that the United States did not have ships or aircraft operating in the Tyrrhenian Sea at the time of the DC-9 crash. Since there were no U.S. aircraft or vessels operating in the zone as defined in your Aide Memoire or in other areas sufficiently close as to allow radar monitoring of the zone where the incident occurred, there is no information that can be provided from U.S. radar systems.

I hope that this information is beneficial to the investigating commission. If I can be of any further help on this issue please let me know.

Sincerely,

William H. Taft, IV

RELEASE

17526
DOC 2

JOINT STAFF ACTION PROCESSING FORM

TO: CJCS	CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL	DIRECTORATE ACTION NO: J-5M 550 -89	22 MAR 1989
THRU: <i>bjs</i>		ACTION	SUSPENSE
		APPROVAL	
		SIGNATURE	SJS NUMBER
		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> INFORMATION	
SUBJECT: Potential Italian Ambassador Request for Information from CJCS		SERVICE ACTION REQUESTED	
		VOTE () COORD () INFO () NONE ()	
		RELEASE FOR VOTE	
		J-DIR _____ / _____ DJS _____ / _____	

ACTION SUMMARY

1. Purpose. Provide CJCS with information concerning a potential request by Italian Ambassador Petrignani to meet with CJCS concerning US involvement in the 1980 Ustica Air Disaster.

2. Discussion.

a. At 1615 today, AMEMBASSY Rome Pol-Mil Officer contacted EURDIV AO to inform him of the following: On afternoon of 22 Mar 89, US Ambassador to Italy Rabb met with MOD Zanone during a Congressional Delegation visit. After the visit, Zanone requested Rabb remain to discuss the matter of US involvement in the 1980 Ustica Air Disaster.

b. Zanone has concerns that the recently released results of the investigation into the circumstances surrounding the crash of the DC-9 are stimulating great speculation that the US was involved. He desires to obtain reassurance of US noninvolvement in the incident.

c. Amb Rabb recommended to Zanone that it might be useful for Italy's Ambassador to the US Petrignani to visit CJCS to obtain the official US military position on the matter. Amb Rabb intends to call CJCS on Wed, 23 Mar 89, to inform him of his recommendation to Zanone. *THH*

d. OASD/ISP is currently working a package in coordination with the Joint Staff to respond to an Italian Embassy request for information. ISP had previously provided information to the effect that the US had no involvement in the incident. Joint Staff/J-3 provided input to the previous responses.

e. Tabs provide recent message traffic on the issue.

3. Recommendation. None. Provided for Info Only.

ACTION OFFICER Gary LaGassey Major, USAF EURDIV, J-5 49434/227	COORDINATION/APPROVAL					
	OFFICE	NAME & DATE	EXTENSION	OFFICE	NAME & DATE	EXTENSION
	J-5	<i>J. A. Baldwin</i> 3/22				
		J-5 VADM J. A. BALDWIN, USN				
DATE OF PREPARATION 22 March 1989	CLASSIFICATION CONFIDENTIAL		DECLAS INSTRUCTIONS CLASS BY DJ5, DECL OADR			

JOINT STAFF ACTION PROCESSING FORM

TO DJS	CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED	DIRECTORATE ACTION NUMBER J-3M 020-89, 9 January 1989	
THRU VOIS		ACTION X APPROVAL X SIGNATURE INFORMATION	SUSPENSE COB 9 Jan 89 SJS NUMBER 1516/092-01
SUBJECT: Investigation on the Downing of ITAVIA DC-9 in the Central Tyrrhenian Sea on 27 June 1980		SERVICE ACTION REQUESTED VOTE() COORD() INFO() NONE()	
		RELEASE FOR VOTE J-DIR / DJS /	

ACTION SUMMARY

1. The Deputy Secretary of Defense requested,* in response to an Italian Embassy request,** that the US provide any information available which might have a bearing on the downing of an ITAVIA DC-9 on 27 June 1980.
2. Appropriate agencies researched this information at an earlier date and determined that the US did not have aircraft or ships operating in the area at the time of the crash. This information has been reverified with USEUCOM. The attached proposed DJS memorandum informs the Deputy Secretary of Defense of this fact and provides a proposed memorandum for response to the Italian Ambassador.
3. Recommend DJS approve and forward attached proposed memorandum.

Attachment

References:

- *DepSecDef Memo, 29 Dec 88, "Response to Italian Aide Memoire"
 **Italian Embassy Aide Memoire, 27 Dec 88 (SJS 1516/092, SJS 1516/092-01)

ACTION OFFICER KERRY R. BAUM LTC, USAR J-3, JOD EC/CC Branch Ext 52538 Secure 2796 WangC2 JODEUC01 2377	COORDINATION/APPROVAL					
	OFFICE	NAME & DATE	EXT	OFFICE	NAME & DATE	EXT
	J-3	WHELER (3)	74070			
DATE PREPARED	CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED		DECLAS INSTRUCTIONS			



DIR JT STAFF
MASTER FILE
DO NOT REMOVE

THE JOINT STAFF
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Reply Zip Code
20318-0300

DJSM 28-89
10 January 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

Subject: Response to Italian Aide Memoire

The Joint Staff has reviewed the information outlined in the references to your memorandum* and verified that there were no US aircraft or vessels in the area at the time of the Ustica air crash. Based upon this review the attached proposed memorandum has been prepared as a suggested response to the Italian Aide Memoire.

RICHARD B. GOETZE, JR.
Major General, USAF
Vice Director, Joint Staff

Attachment

Reference:

*Deputy Secretary of Defense Memorandum, 29 December 1988,
subject as above

APPENDIX

DRAFT

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ITALIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

Subject: Investigation on the Downing of ITAVIA DC-9 in the
Central Tyrrhenian Sea on 27 June 1980

The Joint Staff; Chief of Naval Operations; US national and
naval intelligence agencies; US Commander in Chief, Europe;
Commander in Chief, US Navy, Europe; and the Commander, US
Sixth Fleet, have been queried in response to your Aide
Memoire of 27 December 1988 and all information available
indicates that the United States did not have ships or
aircraft operating in the Tyrrhenian Sea at the time of the
DC-9 crash. Since there were no US aircraft or vessels
operating in the Tyrrhenian Sea at the time in question, there
is no information that can be provided from US radar systems.

Appendix

SJS 1516/092-01

COPY NO. 01

CIRCULATED FOR INFORMATION
COMPLETES ACTION

REFERRED TO J-3

CONNECTION WITH SJS 1516/092
INSTRUCTIONS:

DISTRIBUTION: B plus
J-3(4)

Date: 4 January 1989



THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20301

December 29, 1988

MEMORANDUM FOR DIRECTOR, JOINT STAFF

SUBJECT: Response to Italian Aide Memoire

REF: A. CINCEUR Press Guidance, Dec 1, '88; Subj: Ustica Air Crash -
Libyan Accusations.

B. AMEMBASSY Rome, Msg, 081347Z Nov 88; Subj: The U.S. and
Ustica Air Crash: Request for Guidance.

On 27 December, the Italian Ambassador to the United States,
Ambassador Rinaldo Petrignani, presented me with the attached Aide
Memoire, requesting specific information pertaining to the June 1980
downing of an Italian civilian airliner.

Based on references A and B, it appears that we have responded
to the three questions asked in the Aide Memoire, albeit not in a
formal manner. Request you task the appropriate organization to
review the matter contained in the Aide Memoire and prepare a draft
response from me to Ambassador Petrignani.

As the Italian government's commission investigating the Ustica
crash is working under specific time constraints, I would appreciate
having your answer by COB 9 Jan 89.

My POC for this project is Mr. Glenn Lazarus, OASD/ISP(EUR),
Room 4D776, X72201.

William H. Taft, IV

Attachment

SJS 1516/092-01

REFERRED TO J-3 FOR:
 JCS COORDINATION AND APPROVAL
 CJCS REPLY
 DJS REPLY
 XX DIRECT REPLY
 APPROPRIATE ACTION

DISTRIBUTION B plus
 J-3(4)

Date: 29 Dec 88

SJS Susp: 4 Jan 89
 Orig Susp: 4 Jan 89

INSTRUCTIONS: Provide copy of response to DJS



OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20301-2400

INTERNATIONAL
 SECURITY AFFAIRS

In reply refer to:
 I-88/19312

MEMORANDUM FOR DIRECTOR, JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF

SUBJECT: Investigation on the Downing of ITAVIA DC-9 in the
 Central Tyrrhenian Sea on 27 June 1980

Ambassador Patrignani delivered the attached note to Mr. Taft
 with a request for response, as appropriate, by 4 January 1989.

Your input is requested by 1600, 4 January 1989. Point of contact
 is ISA is CDR David Hardy, JAGC, USN, x44660.

David G. Wigg

David G. Wigg
 Deputy Assistant Secretary
 Policy Analysis

Attachment
 a/s

DIVISION	PRI	INFO
J-33		#7
SEC		#8
EST		
EWOPON		
CEP		
PO		
J-3		
INCS JIS		
CS		
SI		
NASS		
NBB		
CSOD		
EXEC/J36/31		#6
MILSEC		#5
M.I.S.		
ADMIN		
RECORDS		
NMCC		
MACLO		

SJS 1516/092

*Late breaking news —
Film at 11!*

*Partial
Answer
to the
problem*

UNCLASSIFIED

EB/TRA/AVP:JSGRAVATT:SAB
11/08/88 647-9341
EB/TRA/AVP:DRSCHWARTZ

5531

EUR/WE:RSNYDER
FAA/AFS-300:JCMACIDULL

NTSB:RBENSON, AI-30
PM/RASA/ISP:COL.JREAST

082338Z NOV 88

SECDEF

IMMEDIATE ROME

PRIORITY LONDON, PARIS PRIORITY, BONN PRIORITY, NAPLES PRIORITY,
PALERMO PRIORITY, BRUSSELS PRIORITY, USNATO PRIORITY, MILAN PRIORITY

N/A

STATE 365816

EAIR, MOPS, PREL, IT

DC-9 THE U.S. AND THE USTICA AIR CRASH OF ITAVIA

REF: ROME 25267

1. THE DEPARTMENT HAS OBTAINED THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION
FROM THE NATIONAL TRANSPORTATION SAFETY BOARD (NTSB) AS
A PARTIAL ANSWER TO REFTEL.

2. IN ACCORDANCE WITH GRAVATT/WOOD TELECON, JOSEPH
PONTECORVO OF THE U.S. FEDERAL AVIATION ADMINISTRATION
{FAA}, THEN AT ROME, WAS APPOINTED BY NTSB AS THE U.S.
ACCREDITED REPRESENTATIVE FOR THE SUBJECT AIR CRASH.
MR. PONTECORVO CAN NOW BE REACHED IN THE FLIGHT
STANDARDS OFFICE OF FAA AT BRUSSELS.

3. FOLLOWING THE CRASH, AT THE REQUEST OF THE ITALIAN
GOVERNMENT JOHN C. MACIDULL (NOW AT FAA HEADQUARTERS
ON 202-267-9639), THEN SENIOR INVESTIGATOR, AIRCRAFT
PERFORMANCE, AT NTSB, PASSED TO THE ITALIAN GOVERNMENT
HIS ANALYSIS OF THE RADAR RECORDING {PARA. 3 OF REFTEL}.
NO COPIES WERE KEPT BY NTSB. AT THE TIME OF THE

DRS *de*
JSG *216*
RS *for*
RB *for*
JCH *for*
CJRE *for*

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

2

FALKLANDS WAR, MACIDULL'S REPORT WAS REVEALED IN DETAIL ON AN HOUR-LONG BBC PANORAMA PROGRAM BY TOM MANGOLD. (THE PROGRAM WAS NOT SHOWN IN THE U.S. AND MACIDULL DOES NOT KNOW HOW HIS REPORT WAS OBTAINED.)

4. ON JUNE 11, 1987, THE NTSB ASSISTED AN ITALIAN DELEGATION IN THE READ-OUT OF THE ITAVIA DC-9'S COCKPIT VOICE RECORDER, WHICH HAD BEEN IN THE SEA FOR SEVEN YEARS BUT WAS IN GOOD CONDITION. THE TAPE READ AS IF EVERYTHING WAS NORMAL IN THE COCKPIT BUT THEN THERE CAME A SUDDEN END, APPARENTLY INDICATING A COMPLETE ELECTRICAL FAILURE IN THE AIRCRAFT.

5. NTSB IS TRYING TO REACH STEVEN LUND, WHO PARTICIPATED IN THE MCDONNELL-DOUGLAS INVESTIGATION. 44

UNCLASSIFIED

JOINT STAFF ACTION PROCESSING FORM

TO: CJCS	CLASSIFICATION: SECRET	DIRECTORATE ACTION NO. 15M 591 -89 24 MAR 1989															
THRU: <i>DIS-40 Rukt 24 Mar</i>	<table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 60%;">ACTION</td> <td style="width: 40%;">SUSPENSE</td> </tr> <tr> <td>APPROVAL</td> <td>24 Mar 89</td> </tr> <tr> <td>SIGNATURE</td> <td>SJS NUMBER</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> INFORMATION</td> <td>1808/111-00</td> </tr> </table>		ACTION	SUSPENSE	APPROVAL	24 Mar 89	SIGNATURE	SJS NUMBER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> INFORMATION	1808/111-00							
	ACTION	SUSPENSE															
	APPROVAL	24 Mar 89															
	SIGNATURE	SJS NUMBER															
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> INFORMATION	1808/111-00																
SUBJECT: CJCS Meeting with Italian Ambassador																	
<table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td colspan="4" style="text-align: center;">SERVICE ACTION REQUESTED</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="width: 25%;">VOTE ()</td> <td style="width: 25%;">COORD ()</td> <td style="width: 25%;">INFO ()</td> <td style="width: 25%;">NONE ()</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="4" style="text-align: center;">RELEASE FOR VOTE</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2">J-DIR _____</td> <td colspan="2">OJS _____</td> </tr> </table>		SERVICE ACTION REQUESTED				VOTE ()	COORD ()	INFO ()	NONE ()	RELEASE FOR VOTE				J-DIR _____		OJS _____	
SERVICE ACTION REQUESTED																	
VOTE ()	COORD ()	INFO ()	NONE ()														
RELEASE FOR VOTE																	
J-DIR _____		OJS _____															

ACTION SUMMARY

1. Purpose. Attached position paper provides CJCS with background information for 27 March 1989 meeting with Italian Ambassador Petrignani.
2. Recommendation. CJCS use talking points at Tab B for his meeting with Amb. Petrignani.

ACTION OFFICER Gary LaGassey Major, USAF EURDIV, J-5 PPGL0405 TPGL0406	COORDINATION/APPROVAL					
	OFFICE	NAME & DATE	EXTENSION	OFFICE	NAME & DATE	EXTENSION
	J-5	<i>[Signature]</i> <i>24 Mar</i>				
		15VADM J. A. BALDWIN, USN				
	J-3 JOD	Col Womble	52548			
DATE OF PREPARATION 24 March 89	CLASSIFICATION SECRET			DECLAS INSTRUCTIONS CLASS BY DJ5, DECLAS OADR		

24 March 1989


POSITION PAPER

Subject: Italian Ambassador Office Call on CJCS

1. (U) Purpose. To provide CJCS with background information for his meeting with Italian Ambassador Petrignani, scheduled for 1400, 27 March 1989. Biography at Appendix A.

2. (U) Major Points. Suggested talking points at Appendix B.

3. (U) Background. MOD Zanone has directed Ambassador Petrignani to meet with CJCS to obtain reassurance that US had no involvement in the downing of an ITAVIA DC-9 near the island of Ustica on 27 June 1980. Zanone is hopeful that further official reassurance will assist in his ongoing investigation of the matter. CJCS can expect Petrignani to leave an aide memoire requesting additional information about US activities in the region, rather than just the specific area of the incident.



4. (U) Discussion.

a. (U) On 27 June 1980, an ITAVIA DC-9 flying between Bologna and Palermo crashed in the sea near the island of Ustica, north of Sicily. 81 people were killed (Appendix C).

b. (U) The cause of the crash was never determined, although there was considerable speculation that it might have been shot down or run into by a Libyan MIG, there was a bomb aboard, or a missile had shot it down (Appendix D).

c. (U) In Oct 1988, eight years after the incident, the lingering mystery erupted as a full-blown political controversy. Italian TV and print media accused the Italian government of covering up Italian military culpability in the incident (Appendix E). Various theories surfaced and on 9 Nov 88, PM De Mita named a commission of inquiry to look into the incident (Appendix F). The commission was in addition to an on-going inquiry by an investigating magistrate.

INTERNAL STAFF PAPER
RELEASE COVERED BY
JCS MOP 39

CLASSIFIED BY DIRECTOR, J-5
DECLASSIFY ON OADR

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u
d. (~~S/Sensitive~~) In early January 89, Gen Galvin directed ADM Busey to provide him with any information which AFSOUTH might have which was relevant to the incident. ADM Busey's response (Appendix G) reported that AFSOUTH had no record of aircraft having been scrambled, of any other unusual military aircraft activity, or of any missile firings on 27 Jun 80. Gen Galvin forwarded the report to NATO Secretary General Woerner on 26 Jan 89 (Appendix H). (FYI: While we have reason to believe that Woerner forwarded the report to the Italians, SHAPE has requested that this correspondence be kept close hold).

e. (U) On 27 Dec 88, Ambassador Petrignani presented DEPSECDEF Taft with an Aide Memoire (Appendix I) requesting specific information pertaining to the incident. His response (Appendix J), which was developed from a Joint Staff input indicated that the US did not have ships or aircraft operating in the Tyrrhenian Sea at the time of the crash.

f. (U) The controversy continued to bubble in Italy. A 19 Feb 89 article in L'Espresso magazine (Appendix K) presented a hypothetical case in which two US F-14s shooting at Libyan MIGs accidentally hit the airliner, causing both it and a MIG to go down. The article spurred a new series of questions and rumors.

g. (U) On 16 Mar 89, a panel of technical experts appointed by the investigating magistrate concluded that the plane was brought down by a missile, but could not identify who fired it (Appendix L). MOD Zanone reacted by ordering the Air Force Chief of Staff to begin a technical-administrative investigation to determine why Italian radars did not see what happened the evening of June 27 and to determine if anyone had caused the disappearance of any relevant information that would have assisted the investigation. As para 4 of the message points out, there has been continuing controversy over gaps in the radar registrations from some stations and most recently the destruction in 1984 of the original log of radar plottings taken the day in question at the radar station in Licola.

h. (U) On 22 Mar 89, Amb Rabb met with MOD Zanone. Zanone expressed his concerns that the magistrate's report is stirring even greater speculation that the US was involved. He desires to obtain reassurance of US noninvolvement in the incident. Amb Rabb suggested that it might be helpful if Amb Petrignani could meet with CJCS to obtain the reassurance Zanone desires.

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i. (U) During the past week, OASD/ISP began developing a point by point rebuttal to the various hypothetical allegations contained in the various articles. ISP anticipated a formal written request from the Italian Embassy. With Amb Petrignani's request to visit CJCS, the formal request to OSD will not be forthcoming, and ISP stopped its staff work on a response. Rebuttal points have been incorporated in attached talking points.

5. (U) Recommendation. Reassure Amb Petrignani, using talking points at Tab B, that the US had no involvement in the incident.

6. (U) Coordination. J-3/JOD and OASD/ISP were consulted in preparation of this paper.

APPROVED BY: , Director, J-5

Attachments

Appendix A--Amb Petrignani Biography
Appendix B--Suggested Talking Points
Appendix C--NY Times Article, 28 Jun 80
Appendix D--USDAO Rome 161532Z Oct 86
Appendix E--Washington Post Article, 3 Nov 88
Appendix F--AMEMBASSY Rome 101617Z Nov 88
Appendix G--CINCSOUTH 250745Z Jan 89
Appendix H--SACEUR Memorandum, 26 Jan 89
Appendix I--Aide Memoire, 27 Dec 88
Appendix J--DASD Taft memorandum, 24 Jan 89
Appendix K--L'Espresso Article, 19 Feb 89
Appendix L--AMEMBASSY Rome 210825Z Mar 89

Prepared by: Maj Gary LaGassey, USAF
EURDIV, J-5, Ext 49434
PPGL0405

~~SECRET~~

TALKING POINTS FOR CJCS/AMB PETRIGNANI MEETING

27 March 1989

US Involvement in DC-9 Crash

- US official position remains the same as presented in DASD Taft's memorandum of 24 Jan 89
 - All military commanders were queried and all information available indicates that US did not have ships or aircraft operating in the Tyrrhenian Sea at the time of the crash.
 - Since there were no US aircraft or vessels operating in the zone as defined in the Italian Aide Memoire of 27 December 88 or in other areas sufficiently close as to allow radar monitoring of the zone where the incident occurred, there is no information that can be provided from US radar systems.
- CINCSOUTH's investigation and subsequent report to SACEUR resulted in the same findings. In addition, CINCSOUTH did not find any evidence of missile launchings on the day in question.
- No new information has come to light since DASD Taft's memorandum.

Italian Investigative Conclusion That Aircraft Was Downed by a Missile

- US has no evidence of any missile being launched by US or NATO forces.
- It seems unlikely that specific missile origin could be determined at this late date.

Concluding Remarks

- US has looked into all aspects of the case and can reassure GOI that we have no involvement in the downing of the airliner.

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Navy plans to seek remains of 9 fliers

By B. Gerz
The Washington Times

The Navy's proud tradition is to take care of its own. But sometimes the process needs some prodding — and a little influence in high places.

Forty years after his brother and eight others died in the crash of a Navy plane in Canada — and 27 years after the wreckage was found — Raymond H. Swentek has finally succeeded in his determination to have the victims' remains brought home for proper burial.

"It's been a very painstaking experience, but also very rewarding," Mr. Swentek, a Washington resident and a former naval aviator, said yesterday.

His patience had just been rewarded by a telephone call from an aide of yet another ex-Navy pilot — Vice President George Bush, to whom Mr. Swentek had written a few weeks ago. A Bush aide told Mr. Swentek the Navy had reversed a 1986 decision and will send a team to recover the skeletal remains from the wreckage of a Navy P-2V Neptune bomber that crashed Nov. 4, 1948 during an ice storm on Vancouver Island, Canada.

The phone call was the culmination of a 16-year effort by Mr. Swentek and relatives of the other fliers.

"We're all very grateful, and I know I speak for all the families and next of kin, because we know they're finally coming home," said Mr. Swentek, 62. "They've never had a proper burial because they were left lying about there in the wreckage of the aircraft."

Mr. Swentek's older brother, Edward, was a 25-year-old Navy lieutenant when his plane crashed on a routine flight. According to Mr. Swentek, a wing de-icer failed, ice built up and the plane crashed into a snow-covered, inactive volcano 3,000 feet above sea level near the headwaters of the Cyper River.

The wreckage lay undiscovered until 1961, when a helicopter pilot spotted it. The next of kin weren't notified by the Navy until a year later, Mr. Swentek said.

A year after that, he said, a Navy search team visited the site, dug a 1-foot hole for the remaining bones and placed a metal plaque on the makeshift grave.

Using the Freedom of Information Act to obtain Navy documents on the case, Mr. Swentek gradually pieced together the Navy's mishandling of the case.

Once a Navy team visited the crash site, removed a flight suit from a set of remains and left the bones under a rock, he said. On an-

other trip the aircraft's altimeter was recovered.

To press their case for recovery and reburial, a group of the crash victims' relatives formed the Fliers' Remains Interment Endowment.

But after numerous appeals to the Pentagon, then Navy Secretary John Lehman in 1986 vetoed a plan to send a recovery team, on grounds that the Navy believed the crash site was inaccessible.

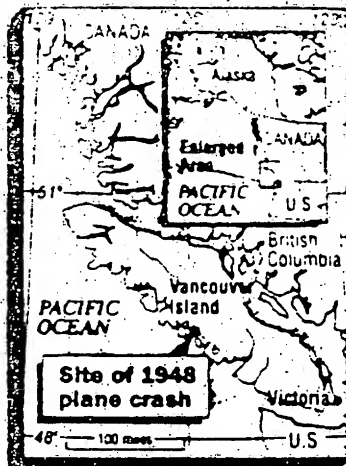
That same year, Mr. Swentek and his wife, Betsy, went to Vancouver and rented a helicopter that took them to the crash scene. They recovered some bones that were later identified as those of two crewmen by a Smithsonian Institution anthropologist.

Last month Mr. Swentek wrote a letter to Mr. Bush explaining how they had reached the crash area easily and recovered some remains.

"We were told by Navy that the place wasn't accessible; in fact they had no good rationale as to why it was inaccessible," Mr. Swentek said. "My wife and I went there and I think that made them look less than manly."

Bush spokesman Stephen Hart said the vice president forwarded Mr. Swentek's request to reopen the case to Navy Secretary William L. Ball III.

"While I can't draw a causal link between the letter and the outcome, there was obviously some action to review the case, and Mr. Swentek's information [that recovery was possible] turned out to be true," Mr. Hart said.



Map by Deborah Mochales. The Washington Times.

Mr. Ball approved the burial mission Tuesday, according to Cmdr. Jeff Zakem, a spokesman for the secretary.

"The secretary has reviewed the case and granted approval for a recovery mission," said Cmdr. Zakem, adding that the team must wait until the snow melts next July or August to begin the recovery operation. The remains that are identified after laboratory analysis in Hawaii will be buried in Arlington National Cemetery.

Mr. Swentek said he was greatly relieved by the decision and planned to take part in the recovery mission, although his efforts since 1972 have "met with resistance all the way."

WASHINGTON POST

3 NOVEMBER 1988

Pg. 40

TV Report Revives Debate Over Italian Jet's 1980 Crash

By Jennifer Parmelee
Special to The Washington Post

ROME, Nov. 2—A report broadcast last night on Italian state-run television about an airliner that went down mysteriously over the Mediterranean in 1980, killing all 81 persons aboard, has revived explosive allegations that it was shot down by a missile from a NATO member country.

The program catapulted the sensitive eight-year-old case back onto today's front pages, touching off renewed charges of a military cover-up and calls in Parliament for the truth, finally, about why the plane crashed.

Tonight, Prime Minister Ciriaco De Mita, responding to the charges, ordered Defense Minister Valerio Zanone to provide him with "the latest facts" on one of Italy's worst air

disasters and convoked a Cabinet meeting for Friday on the subject.

Investigators have long suspected that a missile struck Itavia Flight 870 on the warm summer night of June 27, 1980. But who fired the missile and why have remained unanswered questions.

One popular theory has been that Italian, or other allied, military planes were shooting at an intruding Libyan MiG21 fighter jet whose wreckage and dead pilot were found on a mountainside in Calabria three weeks after the Itavia crash—in still unexplained circumstances.

But this latest report by RAI television, quoting largely unnamed sources close to the continuing investigation, said that an air-to-air missile apparently intended for a moving practice target known as a drone may have hit the civilian DC9 instead.

The sources pointed to the fact that two fragments of a drone were found near the crash site in the Tyrrhenian Sea off the Sicilian island of Ustica. On one of the fragments, they said, were found markings from the American Beech Aircraft Corp., which supplied the Italian military with such targets. Identifying markings on the other fragment, they said, appear to have been erased.

In addition, the TV report said, a ferry passenger on the day after the crash photographed a long, torpedo-shaped object floating near where the plane went down. But it sank before it could be recovered, according to the report.

Both Italian and NATO officials today reiterated longstanding denials that there was any military exercise going on in the area on the night of the disaster. Italy's Defense Ministry said the last target practice involving such drones ended five months before the crash.

But one radar station, operating out of Rome's Ciampino military

airport, reportedly noted "intensive military activity" in the region on the night of the crash. Other radar evidence about the night's aerial activity remains secret.

Investigating magistrate Vittorio Bucarelli said today that he is still awaiting expert opinions on the cause of the crash from a British team of scientific investigators, who have examined pieces of the wrecked DC9 and its flight recorder data, before reaching any conclusions. He said there was "nothing new" about the latest findings.

Lawyers representing families of the crash victims have maintained for years that the DC9 was mistakenly shot down by fighter jets from an Italian base.

In an editorial, the national newspaper La Repubblica charged that "military chiefs at the time, particularly those at the [Ministry of] Aeronautics, knew what the true facts were. But for weeks, months, years they have covered up, denying details that now appear in a different light."



THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20301

24 JAN 1980

His Excellency Rinaldo Petrignani
Ambassador E. and P.
Embassy of Italy
1601 Fuller St., N.W.
Washington, DC 20009

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

Persuant to your request of 27 December 1988, we again checked into whether any U.S. military aircraft or ships were operating in the designated areas on 27 June 1980, and whether we have any information from the radar systems of U.S. equipment operating in or near the area.

All Military Commanders in the area have been queried in response to your Aide Memoire of 27 December 1988 and all information available indicates that the United States did not have ships or aircraft operating in the Tyrrhenian Sea at the time of the DC-9 crash. Since there were no U.S. aircraft or vessels operating in the zone as defined in your Aide Memoire or in other areas sufficiently close as to allow radar monitoring of the zone where the incident occurred, there is no information that can be provided from U.S. radar systems.

I hope that this information is beneficial to the investigating commission. If I can be of any further help on this issue please let me know.

Sincerely,

William H. Taft, IV



Le salme dei passeggeri del Dc 9 vengono recuperate dopo la tragedia del 23 giugno 1980



2 Un Tomcat F 14 ingaggia il combattimento con uno dei due Mig che per difendersi si nasconde sotto il Dc 9 dell'Itavia

TOMCAT

MIG

Il Roc di Martinafranca, però, non dà l'allarme alla base più vicina alla zona dove sono stati segnalati gli intrusi, cioè Trapani. Così dopo un'altra sollecitazione che rimane senza esito (in realtà a Trapani non arrivò nessun allarme) gli americani decidono di fare da soli.

Due Tomcat F 14 della portaerei Saratoga decollano per intercettare i due aerei. Gli americani (lo hanno dimostrato anche recentemente abbattendo due Mig al largo delle coste libiche) hanno "regole d'ingaggio" molto precise: se l'aereo da intercettare è in "assetto di attacco" devono aprire il fuoco.

L' "inchiesta di Trapani", che si avvale anche di informazioni raccolte confidenzialmente da piloti americani, ricostruisce la battaglia di quel 28 giugno con precisione. Gli F 14 entrano rapidamente in contatto con i caccia avversari: sono due Mig 23 libici che, secondo le regole dell'aviazione americana, assumono un inequivocabile "assetto di attacco". I piloti statunitensi

ingaggiano il combattimento. Un Mig riesce a sganciarsi mentre l'altro, che ha ai comandi Ezzedin Kaal, uno dei più famosi e preparati piloti di Gheddafi, vola verso sud e ha il caccia americano che lo insegue a ovest, cioè sulla sua dritta. Forse senza nemmeno accorgersene, il libico sta

impedire all'americano di lanciare il suo Sparrow: il rischio di colpire quell'aereo di linea sarebbe troppo elevato. E così fa.

Ma in quella manciata di secondi le cose precipitano. Il pilota americano che, probabilmente, non ha avvistato il Dc 9 perché concentrato sul suo bersaglio, dà inizio alla manovra d'attacco virando verso est e sganciando il missile con testata a guida infrarossa (che si lascia cioè guidare sulle fonti di calore). Quando si accorge della presenza del Dc 9 e della manovra del Mig che va a nascondersi sotto di lui, è troppo tardi: il missile prosegue la sua corsa inseguendo la fonte di calore più potente, cioè quella del Dc 9, ed esplodendo in prossimità del muso dell'aereo.

E' la tragedia. Sul Mig piovono rottami del Dc 9 che lo danneggiano seriamente mentre l'aereo dell'Itavia precipita, senza più nessun controllo, nelle acque di Ustica. Uno scenario che corrisponde quasi alla perfezione con le conclusioni dei periti («il Dc 9 è stato abbattuto da un missile») e con le registrazioni del radar di Ciampino analizzate dall'esperto americano John Macidull.

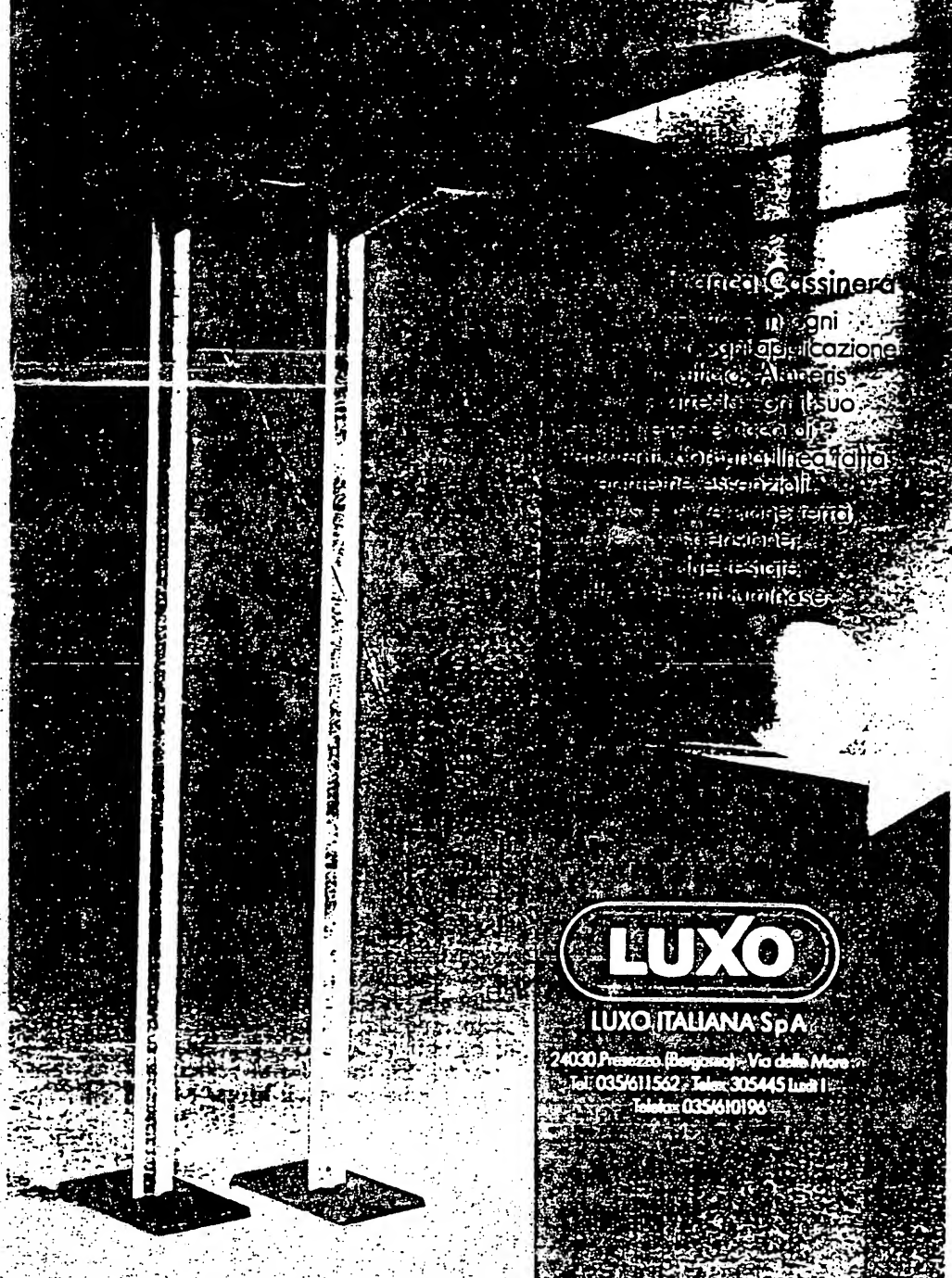


percorrendo nella sua fuga una rotta parallela e poco distante dalla Ambra 13, l'aerovia riservata ai jet civili che unisce la verticale di Ponza all'aeroporto di Palermo Punta Raisi. Ed è proprio l'Ambra 13 che gli offre quello che, sul momento, gli appare come il miglior modo per difendersi dai missili dell'americano. Davanti a lui, pressappoco a "ore una", cioè davanti a destra, vede la sagoma di un aereo civile: è il Dc 9 dell'Itavia in volo da Bologna a Palermo, che viaggia con due ore di ritardo sull'orario previsto. Mettendosi sotto di lui, deve aver pensato il libico,

Vi si rilevano, infatti, delle tracce (il Mig libico) che vanno a sovrapporsi con quelle del Dc 9 e la traccia di un oggetto non identificato «che si comportava come un caccia», (il caccia americano) che prima dell'incidente vira verso est. Poi, dopo l'esplosione, la traccia «di uno o più oggetti volanti che attraversano l'area del disastro ad alta velocità» (il caccia americano e il Mig).

►►

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ITALIA

Il pilota americano, probabilmente sotto choc per l'abbattimento dell'aereo civile, rinuncia a inseguire il Mig. Il libico, resosi conto dei danni riportati dal suo caccia, punta verso sud-est, forse per tentare un atterraggio d'emergenza in Calabria. Ma finisce per schiantarsi sui Monti della Sila con i serbatoi di carburante vuoti, bucati dai rotami del Dc 9.

Il relitto verrà trovato solo dopo una ventina di giorni, il 18 luglio. E per evitare ogni collegamento tra i due episodi sarebbero stati addirittura i nostri servizi segreti (allora diretti dal generale piduista Giuseppe Santovito) a organizzare un incidente simulato. Un caccia partito da Pratica di Mare, vicino Roma, avrebbe finto di cadere dietro un costone della Sila per poi rialzarsi in volo appena fuori dalla vista degli abitanti di Castelsilano. «A quanto ho potuto constatare», ha raccontato ai carabinieri un abitante della zona, il pastore Giuseppe Piccolo, «prima che l'aereo raggiungesse il costone del fondo Ritri (dove è stato ritrovato il Mig; ndr.) viaggiava normalmente. Ma quando ha raggiunto detto costone ha virato di colpo riuscendo a evitare l'impatto». E che l'aereo non sia caduto il 18 luglio lo attesta anche l'autopsia effettuata su Ezzedin Kaal: «E' morto da almeno quindici giorni», hanno scritto i medici.

L'"inchiesta di Trapani", partita da quella telefonata che aveva l'intento di scaricare sui piloti dell'aeroporto siciliano le indecisioni dello stato maggiore, finisce qui. E' la verità segreta dell'Aeronautica sulla tragedia di Ustica ed è compatibile, come abbiamo visto, con le principali circostanze sin qui accertate da magistrati e periti.

Se questa che viene da Trapani è anche la "verità assoluta" della strage di Ustica, dovrà accertarlo la magistratura. Ci troveremo di fronte a uno dei "misteri" più gravi nella storia della Repubblica: vertici militari inetti; copertura delle responsabilità statunitensi; depistaggio doloso sulla diversa versione costruita per il Mig caduto in Sila; mancata collaborazione con la giustizia. E, soprattutto, 81 morti per i quali ancora si attende giustizia.

TALKING POINTS FOR COL NAAB

UPDATE ON USTICA AIR DISASTER

- Amb Petrignani of Italy met with CJCS on 27 March 89 regarding the ongoing investigation into the June 1980 crash of an ITAVIA DC-9 near the island of Ustica in the Tyrrherian Sea.
 - Position Paper prepared for CJCS meeting is attached.
- Petrignani stressed that Italy needs more definite information from the US in order to offset current press reporting and speculation regarding possible US involvement in the incident.
 - He left CJCS a copy (Attached) of an aide-memoire which was sent to DSD Taft last week. It asks for more detail than the Italians requested in a previous aide-memoire in Dec 88.
 - OASD/ISP has the action and is contemplating how to handle it.
- CJCS agreed only to discuss the matter with DSD Taft. Taft owes the answer to Petrignani, however, Joint Staff will be involved in helping to prepare the response.
- In anticipation of an OSD tasker, EURDIV AO is obtaining permission from CJSC Staff Group to fax a copy of the aide-memoire to SHAPE and EUCOM and retransmit it verbatim to USDAO and ODC Rome.

Prepared by: Gary C. LaGassey, Major, USAF
EURDIV, J-5
Ext 49434/TPGL0409/28 March 89

JOINT STAFF ACTION PROCESSING FORM

TO: CJCS	CLASSIFICATION SECRET NOFORN <i>CONFIDENTIAL</i>	DIRECTORATE ACTION NO. 7-57653-89 30 MAR 1989																
THRU: DJS		<table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 50%;">ACTION</td> <td style="width: 50%;">SUSPENSE</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> APPROVAL</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> SIGNATURE</td> <td>SJS NUMBER</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input type="checkbox"/> INFORMATION</td> <td></td> </tr> </table>	ACTION	SUSPENSE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> APPROVAL		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> SIGNATURE	SJS NUMBER	<input type="checkbox"/> INFORMATION									
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SUBJECT Italian Request for Additional Information Concerning Ustica Air Crash (U)		<table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td colspan="4">SERVICE ACTION REQUESTED</td> </tr> <tr> <td>VOTE ()</td> <td>COORD ()</td> <td>INFO ()</td> <td>NONE ()</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="4">RELEASE FOR VOTE</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2">J-DIR</td> <td colspan="2">DJS</td> </tr> </table>	SERVICE ACTION REQUESTED				VOTE ()	COORD ()	INFO ()	NONE ()	RELEASE FOR VOTE				J-DIR		DJS	
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ACTION SUMMARY

1. (U) Purpose. Request USCINCEUR provide additional information on the Ustica air crash.
2. (U) Discussion.
 - a. ^U On 27 March 89, Italian Ambassador Petrignani visited CJCS. He left a copy of an Aide Memoire* which he had sent to Deputy Secretary of Defense Taft on 23 March 89. It requested the US provide more detailed information about the 27 June 80 crash of an ITAVIA DC-9 in the Tyrrhenian Sea.
 - b. (U) This was Amb Petrignani's second formal request for information about the incident. His first** was staffed by OSD and the Joint Staff. DSD Taft's response*** specifically addressed the questions posed in the request.
 - c. (U) In recent weeks, Italian investigative authorities have accepted evidence that a missile (type unknown) caused the airliner to crash. As a result, new allegations pointing the finger at Italian Air Force (or other air force) involvement have surfaced. GOI has extended the investigation and Minister of Defense Zanone feels additional US information would be helpful.
 - d. (U) To properly prepare a response to the second Aide Memoire, Joint Staff needs updated information from USCINCEUR. Proposed messages at Enclosures A and B inform CINCEUR of the requirement to provide additional information and give his staff the necessary details to work the problem. Enclosure B also informs CINCUSNAVEUR and USDAO Rome of the status of the inquiry.

ENC A WITHDRAWN

ACTION OFFICER	COORDINATION/APPROVAL					
Gary LaGassey Major, USAF EURDIV, J-5 49434/228	OFFICE	NAME & DATE	EXTENSION	OFFICE	NAME & DATE	EXTENSION
	J-5	MA Butler 3/30	11887			
	MGEN GEORGE L. BUTLER, USAF, J-5					
DATE OF PREPARATION 29 Mar 89	CLASSIFICATION SECRET NOFORN <i>CONFIDENTIAL</i>			DECLAS INSTRUCTIONS CLASS BY DJ5, DECL OADR		

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3. (U) Recommendations.

- a. (U) CJCS sign proposed backchannel message at Enclosure A to CINCEUR
- b. (U) DJS sign proposed message at Enclosure B to USCINCEUR/ECDC.

4. (U) Without attachments, this Form 136 is CONFIDENTIAL.

Attachments

References:

- *Italian Ambassador memorandum, 23 March 1989 with Aide Memoire
- **Italian Aide Memoire, 27 December 1988
- ***Deputy Secretary of Defense memorandum, 24 January 1989

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JCS INFORMATION
SERVICE CENTER

IMMEDIATE

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FM JOINT STAFF WASHINGTON DC//DJS//

TO USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE//ECDC//

INFO CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK

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CONFIDENTIAL

SUBJ: ITALIAN REQUEST FOR ADDITIONAL INFORMATION CONCERNING
USTICA AIR CRASH (U)

1. (C) ITALIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE US PETRIGNANI VISITED CJCS ON 27 MAR 89 AND LEFT HIM A COPY OF AN AIDE-MEMOIRE THAT HE HAD SENT TO DEPSECDEF TAFT ON 23 MAR 89. THE AIDE-MEMOIRE, QUOTED VERBATIM BELOW, REQUESTS THE US PROVIDE ADDITIONAL INFORMATION CONCERNING THE JUN 80 USTICA DC-9 CRASH.

QUOTE. WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE ITALIAN GOVERNMENTAL INVESTIGATION ON THE DOWNING ON JUNE 27, 1980, IN THE CENTRAL TYRRHENIAN SEA (BETWEEN THE ISLANDS OF PONZA AND USTICA) OF AN ITAVIA DC-9 FLYING BETWEEN BOLOGNA AND PALERMO, THE ITALIAN AUTHORITIES HAVE ASKED FOR THE COOPERATION OF US AUTHORITIES IN ACQUIRING ADDITIONAL INFORMATION.

PURSUANT TO A REQUEST MADE ON DECEMBER 27, 1988, BY THE AMBASSADOR OF ITALY, THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF DEFENSE ALREADY PROVIDED THE AMBASSADOR OF ITALY - THROUGH HIS LETTER OF JANUARY 24, 1989 - INFORMATION ON THE MATTER, WHICH HAS BEEN HELPFUL TO THE ITALIAN GOVERNMENTAL INVESTIGATION COMMITTEE.

THE ITALIAN AUTHORITIES WOULD NOW APPRECIATE THE FURTHER COOPERATION OF THE U.S. AUTHORITIES IN ORDER TO ACQUIRE ADDITIONAL AND DETAILED INFORMATION ON SOME POINTS CRUCIAL FOR THE CONCLUSION OF THE INVESTIGATION. THEY ARE, IN PARTICULAR, INTERESTED IN KNOWING (AND THEY WOULD APPRECIATE THE MOST DETAILED ELEMENTS IN THIS REGARD):

A) WHETHER ANY US AIRCRAFT - HAVING TAKEN OFF EITHER FROM SARATOGA OR FROM ANY OTHER U.S. SHIP STATIONED IN THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA OR FROM LAND BASES - WERE AIRBORNE IN THE EVENING OF JUNE 27, 1980 IN AREAS AND IN PERIODS OF TIME EVEN NOT DIRECTLY RELATED TO THE ONES WHERE AND WHEN THE USTICA INCIDENT OCCURRED;

B) WHETHER EITHER SARATOGA OR OTHER US SHIPS HAVE VOICE, RADAR OR OTHER RECORDINGS OF AIR TRAFFIC OF ANY KIND IN THE EVENING OF JUNE 27, 1980 (SEVERAL ITALIAN NEWSPAPERS HAVE REPORTED THAT SUCH RECORDINGS DO INDEED EXIST AND, FURTHERMORE, THAT THEY MAY HAVE BEEN HANDED OVER TO THE ITALIAN JUDGE, ALTHOUGH THIS LAST DETAIL HAS ALREADY BEEN DENIED BY US AUTHORITIES);

C) THE POSITION OF SARATOGA AND ALL THE SHIPS COMPRISED IN OR RELATED TO ITS TASK FORCE IN THE EVENING OF JUNE 27, 1980, ON THE ONE HAND, AND, ON THE OTHER HAND, THE POSITION OF ANY OTHER US SHIP (I.E. NOT PERTAINING TO THE SARATOGA TASK FORCE AND NOT LYING AT ANCHOR IN THE ROADSTEAD OF THE NAPOLI HARBOR) IN THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA IN THE EVENING IN QUESTION. WASHINGTON, D.C. MARCH 23, 1989. END QUOTE.

2. (C) THIS IS THE SECOND FORMAL REQUEST FROM AMB PETRIGNANI FOR INFORMATION CONCERNING THE CRASH. HIS FIRST AIDE-MEMOIRE, PRESENTED TO DEPSECDEF TAFT ON 27 DEC 88, WAS ANSWERED ON 24 JAN 89. BOTH THE AIDE-MEMOIRE AND THE DEPSECDEF RESPONSE ARE QUOTED BELOW FOR YOUR INFORMATION.

A. (C) AMB PETRIGNANI AIDE-MEMOIRE, 27 DEC 88.

QUOTE. WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE INVESTIGATION ON THE DOWNING ON JUNE 27, 1980 IN THE CENTRAL TYRRHENIAN SEA OF AN ITAVIA DC-9 FLYING BETWEEN BOLOGNA AND PALERMO, THE ITALIAN AUTHORITIES WOULD APPRECIATE THE COOPERATION OF U.S. AUTHORITIES IN ACQUIRING ADDITIONAL INFORMATION.

IN PARTICULAR THE ITALIAN AUTHORITIES WOULD LIKE TO KNOW IF ON THE EVENING OF JUNE 27, 1980, IN THE MOMENTS PRECEDING AND FOLLOWING THE ACTUAL TIME OF THE INCIDENT, AND IN THE PRESUMED LOCATION OF THE SAME, I.E.:

- IN THE PERIOD BETWEEN 18:45 AND 19:15 GMT OF JUNE 27, 1980;

- IN THE SPACE BETWEEN LATITUDE NORTH 39° 30' AND 40° 30', AND LONGITUDE EAST 12° 30' AND 13° 30'.

A) ANY U.S. MILITARY AIRCRAFT WAS FLYING IN THE AREA AND AT THE TIME INDICATED;

B) ANY U.S. NAVAL SHIP WAS IN THE AREA AND AT THE TIME INDICATED.

THE ITALIAN AUTHORITIES WOULD FURTHERMORE LIKE TO KNOW WHAT INFORMATION IS AVAILABLE FROM THE RADAR SYSTEMS OF U.S. EQUIPMENT WHICH HAPPENED TO BE IN THE ZONE AS DEFINED ABOVE OR IN OTHER AREAS SUFFICIENTLY CLOSE AS TO ALLOW RADAR MONITORING OF THE ZONE WHERE THE INCIDENT OCCURRED. WASHINGTON, D.C. DECEMBER 27, 1988. END QUOTE.

B. (C) DEPSECDEF TAFT RESPONSE, 24 JAN 89.

QUOTE. DEAR MR. AMBASSADOR:

PURSUANT TO YOUR REQUEST OF 27 DECEMBER 1988, WE AGAIN CHECKED INTO WHETHER ANY U.S. MILITARY AIRCRAFT OR SHIPS WERE OPERATING IN THE DESIGNATED AREAS ON 27 JUNE 1980, AND WHETHER WE HAVE ANY INFORMATION FROM THE RADAR SYSTEMS OF U.S. EQUIPMENT OPERATING IN OR NEAR THE AREA.

ALL MILITARY COMMANDERS IN THE AREA HAVE BEEN QUERIED IN RESPONSE TO YOUR AIDE MEMOIRE OF 27 DECEMBER 1988 AND ALL INFORMATION AVAILABLE INDICATES THAT THE UNITED STATES DID NOT HAVE SHIPS OR AIRCRAFT OPERATING IN THE TYRRHENIAN SEA AT THE TIME OF THE DC-9 CRASH. SINCE THERE WERE NO U.S. AIRCRAFT OR VESSELS OPERATING IN THE ZONE DEFINED IN YOUR AIDE MEMOIRE OR IN OTHER AREAS SUFFICIENTLY CLOSE AS TO ALLOW RADAR MONITORING OF THE ZONE WHERE THE INCIDENT OCCURRED, THERE IS NO INFORMATION THAT CAN BE PROVIDED FROM U.S. RADAR SYSTEMS.

I HOPE THAT THIS INFORMATION IS BENEFICIAL TO THE INVESTIGATING COMMISSION. IF I CAN BE OF ANY FURTHER HELP ON THIS ISSUE PLEASE LET ME KNOW. SINCERELY, WILLIAM H. TAFT, IV. END QUOTE.

3. (C) THE MOST RECENT AIDE-MEMOIRE EXPANDS THE SCOPE OF THE REQUEST FOR INFORMATION. IN ORDER TO PROVIDE THE MOST COMPLETE RESPONSE POSSIBLE, REQUEST YOU CONDUCT ANOTHER REVIEW OF THE INFORMATION AVAILABLE AND PROVIDE SPECIFIC RESPONSES FOR SUBPARAS A THROUGH C OF AMB PETRIGNANI'S AIDE MEMOIRE OF 23 MAR 89. ANY ADDITIONAL INFORMATION OR COMMENTS YOU HAVE THAT WILL ASSIST THE ITALIANS WOULD BE APPRECIATED. REQUEST YOUR RESPONSE BY 4 APR 89. DECL OADR BT

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Joint Staff
30 Nov 90

ACTION J5(3)

INFO CJCS(7) DJS(1) SJS(1) DODCIV(1)

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INFO CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK
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USDAO ROME IT

C O N F I D E N T I A L

SUBJ: ITALIAN REQUEST FOR ADDITIONAL INFORMATION CONCERNING
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ACQUIRING ADDITIONAL INFORMATION.

CJCS/DJS/SJS/J-5/DOCDIV

G. LAGASSEY, MAJ, USAF
EUROPEAN DIV, J-5/41434
MSGLO414

Releaser

H T Johnson

JCSISC ALTERNATE MESSAGEFORM

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Joint Staff
30 Nov 90*

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JCSISC ALTERNATE MESSAGEFORM

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A. {C} AMB PETRIGNANI AIDE-MEMOIRE, 27 DEC 88.

QUOTE. WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE INVESTIGATION ON THE DOWNING ON JUNE 27, 1980 IN THE CENTRAL TYRRHENIAN SEA OF AN ITAVIA DC-9 FLYING BETWEEN BOLOGNA AND PALERMO, THE ITALIAN

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AUTHORITIES WOULD APPRECIATE THE COOPERATION OF U.S. AUTHORITIES
IN ACQUIRING ADDITIONAL INFORMATION.

IN PARTICULAR THE ITALIAN AUTHORITIES WOULD LIKE TO KNOW IF
ON THE EVENING OF JUNE 27, 1980, IN THE MOMENTS PRECEDING AND
FOLLOWING THE ACTUAL TIME OF THE INCIDENT, AND IN THE PRESUMED
LOCATION OF THE SAME, I.E.:

- IN THE PERIOD BETWEEN 18:45 AND 19:15 GMT OF JUNE 27,
1980;

- IN THE SPACE BETWEEN LATITUDE NORTH 39' 30' AND 40'
30', AND LONGITUDE EAST 12' 30' AND 13' 30',

A) ANY U.S. MILITARY AIRCRAFT WAS FLYING IN THE AREA AND
AT THE TIME INDICATED;

B) ANY U.S. NAVAL SHIP WAS IN THE AREA AND AT THE TIME
INDICATED.

THE ITALIAN AUTHORITIES WOULD FURTHERMORE LIKE TO KNOW WHAT
INFORMATION IS AVAILABLE FROM THE RADAR SYSTEMS OF U.S. EQUIPMENT
WHICH HAPPENED TO BE IN THE ZONE AS DEFINED ABOVE OR IN OTHER
AREAS SUFFICIENTLY CLOSE AS TO ALLOW RADAR MONITORING OF THE ZONE
WHERE THE INCIDENT OCCURRED. WASHINGTON, D.C. DECEMBER 27, 1988.
END QUOTE.

INIT: 1471

JCSISC ALTERNATE MESSAGEFORM

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B. (C) DEPSECDEF TAFT RESPONSE, 24 JAN 89.

QUOTE. DEAR MR. AMBASSADOR:

PURSUANT TO YOUR REQUEST OF 27 DECEMBER 1988, WE AGAIN CHECKED INTO WHETHER ANY U.S. MILITARY AIRCRAFT OR SHIPS WERE OPERATING IN THE DESIGNATED AREAS ON 27 JUNE 1980, AND WHETHER WE HAVE ANY INFORMATION FROM THE RADAR SYSTEMS OF U.S. EQUIPMENT OPERATING IN OR NEAR THE AREA.

ALL MILITARY COMMANDERS IN THE AREA HAVE BEEN QUERIED IN RESPONSE TO YOUR AIDE MEMOIRE OF 27 DECEMBER 1988 AND ALL INFORMATION AVAILABLE INDICATES THAT THE UNITED STATES DID NOT HAVE SHIPS OR AIRCRAFT OPERATING IN THE TYRRHENIAN SEA AT THE TIME OF THE DC-9 CRASH. SINCE THERE WERE NO U.S. AIRCRAFT OR VESSELS OPERATING IN THE ZONE DEFINED IN YOUR AIDE MEMOIRE OR IN OTHER AREAS SUFFICIENTLY CLOSE AS TO ALLOW RADAR MONITORING OF THE ZONE WHERE THE INCIDENT OCCURRED, THERE IS NO INFORMATION THAT CAN BE PROVIDED FROM U.S. RADAR SYSTEMS.

I HOPE THAT THIS INFORMATION IS BENEFICIAL TO THE INVESTIGATING COMMISSION. IF I CAN BE OF ANY FURTHER HELP ON THIS ISSUE PLEASE LET ME KNOW. SINCERELY, WILLIAM H. TAFT, IV. END
QUOTE.

INIT: 171

JCSISC ALTERNATE MESSAGEFORM

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06 06 00 00 CCCC

3. (C) THE MOST RECENT AIDE-MEMOIRE EXPANDS THE SCOPE OF THE REQUEST FOR INFORMATION. IN ORDER TO PROVIDE THE MOST COMPLETE RESPONSE POSSIBLE, REQUEST YOU CONDUCT ANOTHER REVIEW OF THE INFORMATION AVAILABLE AND PROVIDE SPECIFIC RESPONSES FOR SUBPARAS A THROUGH C OF AMB PETRIGNANI'S AIDE MEMOIRE OF 23 MAR 89. ANY ADDITIONAL INFORMATION OR COMMENTS YOU HAVE THAT WILL ASSIST THE ITALIANS WOULD BE APPRECIATED. REQUEST YOUR RESPONSE BY 4 APR 89.
DECL OADR

INIT: 1171

JCSISC ALTERNATE MESSAGEFORM

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THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20301

24 JAN 1989

His Excellency Rinaldo Petrignani
Ambassador E. and P.
Embassy of Italy
1601 Fuller St., N.W.
Washington, DC 20009

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

Persuant to your request of 27 December 1988, we again checked into whether any U.S. military aircraft or ships were operating in the designated areas on 27 June 1980, and whether we have any information from the radar systems of U.S. equipment operating in or near the area.

All Military Commanders in the area have been queried in response to your Aide Memoire of 27 December 1988 and all information available indicates that the United States did not have ships or aircraft operating in the Tyrrhenian Sea at the time of the DC-9 crash. Since there were no U.S. aircraft or vessels operating in the zone as defined in your Aide Memoire or in other areas sufficiently close as to allow radar monitoring of the zone where the incident occurred, there is no information that can be provided from U.S. radar systems.

I hope that this information is beneficial to the investigating commission. If I can be of any further help on this issue please let me know.

Sincerely,

William H. Taft, IV

47526

JOINT STAFF ACTION PROCESSING FORM 11 APR 1989

TO: CJCS	CLASSIFICATION CONFIDENTIAL	DIRECTORATE ACTION NO. SJS 1810/248-00 15M 7 49 -89																
THRU: DJS <i>H7</i>		<table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 50%;">ACTION</td> <td style="width: 50%;">SUSPENSE</td> </tr> <tr> <td>APPROVAL</td> <td>5 Apr 89</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> SIGNATURE</td> <td>SJS NUMBER</td> </tr> <tr> <td>INFORMATION</td> <td>1810/248-00</td> </tr> </table>	ACTION	SUSPENSE	APPROVAL	5 Apr 89	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> SIGNATURE	SJS NUMBER	INFORMATION	1810/248-00								
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APPROVAL	5 Apr 89																	
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> SIGNATURE	SJS NUMBER																	
INFORMATION	1810/248-00																	
SUBJECT Downing of Itavia DC-9 on 27 June 1980 (U)		<table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td colspan="4">SERVICE ACTION REQUESTED</td> </tr> <tr> <td>VOTE ()</td> <td>COORD ()</td> <td>INFO ()</td> <td>NONE ()</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="4">RELEASE FOR VOTE</td> </tr> <tr> <td>J-DIR</td> <td>/</td> <td>DJS</td> <td>/</td> </tr> </table>	SERVICE ACTION REQUESTED				VOTE ()	COORD ()	INFO ()	NONE ()	RELEASE FOR VOTE				J-DIR	/	DJS	/
SERVICE ACTION REQUESTED																		
VOTE ()	COORD ()	INFO ()	NONE ()															
RELEASE FOR VOTE																		
J-DIR	/	DJS	/															

ACTION SUMMARY

1. (U) Purpose. Provide a proposed response to Italian Ambassador's request for information concerning the 1980 Ustica Air Crash.
2. (U) Discussion
 - a. *u* On 27 Mar 89, Italian Ambassador Petrignani visited CJCS. He left a copy of an aide memoire* which he had sent to DEPSECDEF Taft on 23 March 89. It requested the US provide more detailed information about the 27 June 80 crash of an ITAVIA DC-9 in the Tyrrhenian Sea.
 - b. (U) Subsequently, CJCS discussed the matter with DEPSECDEF Taft and agreed to provide the information necessary for Taft to answer Petrignani.
 - c. (U) To obtain the information necessary for a complete response, DJS tasked** USCINCEUR to review the matter again and provide specific responses to the questions posed in the aide memoire.
 - d. (U) ASD Lehman requested*** DJS provide the information. Secretary Lehman's memorandum was received in the Joint Staff on 4 April 89.
 - e. (U) USCINCEUR comments**** were received on 5 April 89. Follow-up questions were posed by EURDIV AO to USCINCEUR POC, OSD/ISP (EUR) AO, and DOS Italy Desk Officer in order to prepare this correspondence.
 - f. (U) DEPSECDEF Taft has left his position and his replacement has not been confirmed. Therefore, the enclosed CJCS memorandum forwards a proposed memorandum for SECDEF to send to Amb Petrignani.

ACTION OFFICER G.C. LaGassey Major, USAF J-5 EURDIV 49434/Z29	COORDINATION/APPROVAL					
	OFFICE	NAME & DATE	EXTENSION	OFFICE	NAME & DATE	EXTENSION
	J-5	<i>H.L. Ross</i>	79714			
		J5 VADM J.A. BALDWIN, USN				
	J-3	Capt Trafton	52541			
	OSD/ISP	Mr. Johnson	56507			
	IALA	Lt Col Kane	71309			
DATE OF PREPARATION 5 April 89	CLASSIFICATION CONFIDENTIAL			DECLAS INSTRUCTIONS CLASS BY DJ5, DECLAS OADR		

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g. (U) In addition to responding to the specific written questions posed in Amb Petrignani's aide memoire, the proposed memorandum provides a response to a verbal question that he asked CJCS during his office meeting. The question concerned the location of then-Secretary of State Muskie's aircraft at the time of the incident. DCS AC confirms that his aircraft was on the ground in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, at the time the DC-9 crashed.

3. (U) Recommendation. CJCS sign the enclosed memorandum.

Attachment

References:

- * Italian Ambassador memorandum, 23 March 1989 with aide memoire
- ** DJS 011447Z Mar 89
- *** ASD Lehman memorandum, 29 March 1989, "Downing of Itavia DC-9 on 27 June 1980"
- **** USCINCEUR/ECCS 041743Z Apr 89

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OFFICE OF THE CHAIRMAN
THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20318-0001

CM-1907-89
04 May 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

Subject: Downing of ITAVIA DC-9 on 27 June 1980

USCINCEUR conducted another review of its records in light of Ambassador Petrignani's recent aide memoire.* Based upon this new review, the attached memorandum has been prepared as a suggested response to Ambassador Petrignani.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "William J. Crowe, Jr.", is positioned above the typed name.

WILLIAM J. CROWE, JR.
Chairman
Joint Chiefs of Staff

Attachment

Reference:

* Italian Ambassador aide memoire, 23 March 1989



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON, THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA



His Excellency Rinaldo Petrignani
Ambassador E. and P.
Embassy of Italy
1601 Fuller St., NW
Washington, DC 20009

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

Pursuant to your request of 23 March 1989 and your office call with the Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, on 27 March 1989, another review was conducted of US records for additional information that might be useful to the Government of Italy in its ongoing investigation of the ITAVIA DC-9 crash on 27 June 1980.

Headquarters, US European Command, conducted a review of its records based on the expanded questions in your 23 March 1989 aide memoire. Details of the review are listed below.

a. US Aircraft Airborne on 27 June 1980.

(1) US Navy historical record checks document that the air wing embarked in USS Saratoga flew twenty-one sorties from Naval Air Station Sigonella, Sicily on 27 June 1980. The last aircraft landed at 1618 local time, well before the reported 2100 local time Ustica air crash. Also, US Navy primary data files for air-to-air missile carriage and expenditure document zero captive flight or firing records for aircraft squadrons of USS Saratoga or any other squadron of the Sixth Fleet between the days of 26 June and 28 June 1980.

(2) USAF records held at the 7555th Tactical Training Squadron at Decimomannu, Sardinia, reveal that there were no US Navy flights out of Decimomannu on 27 June 1980, nor was there any use of the Capo Frasca air-to-ground range on that date. The records also indicate that daily flying operations by elements of Headquarters, US Air Forces in Europe (USAFE) at Decimomannu were completed by 1700 hours local time. Therefore all USAFE aircraft were on the ground at the time of the incident.

b. Voice, Radar, or Other Recordings. No voice or radar recordings of air traffic in the Tyrrhenian Sea for the evening of 27 June 1980 are currently available. The procedures in use at the time called for such recordings to be retained for only 24 hours, unless unusual circumstances required a longer period. The absence of records indicates that nothing abnormal was detected. Ships in port are required to shut down radar systems; therefore, the majority of the Sixth Fleet ships were not capable of monitoring traffic in the areas where they were berthed.

c. Position of SARATOGA and its Task Force. The Enclosure provides the positions of Sixth Fleet ships for the evening of 27 June 1980. The listing was extracted from the Sixth Fleet Employment Schedule, ships' deck logs, and command histories obtained from the Naval Historical Center.

With regard to your verbal question to Admiral Crowe concerning Italian press reports that allege then-Secretary of State Muskie was flying in the area at the time, the Department of State confirms that Mr. Muskie was in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, when the incident occurred. He traveled from Ankara, Turkey, on 26 June, arriving in Kuala Lumpur at 0245 Italian time on 27 June 1980.

I hope that these comments from the final review of available US records are helpful to your government in settling this investigation.

Sincerely,

Enclosure:
As stated

ENCLOSURE

SIXTH FLEET SHIP POSITIONS ON 27 JUNE 1980

<u>SHIP</u>	<u>LOCATION</u>
SARATOGA	Naples (Anchorage)
DAHLGREN	Naples (Moored Molo Angioino)
DALE	Aegean Sea (En route Athens)
D.B. BEARY	Aegean Sea (En route Athens)
BRISCOE	Athens
COMTE DE GRASSE	Athens
STUMP	Palma, Spain
HEWES	Palma, Spain
MC DONNELL	Palma, Spain
VREELAND	Palma, Spain
PUGET SOUND	Palma, Spain
PAWCATUCK	Palma, Spain
GUADALCANAL	Carboneras, Spain (Training Anchorage)
NASHVILLE	Carboneras, Spain (Training Anchorage)
PENSACOLA	Carboneras, Spain (Training Anchorage)
LAMOURE COUNTY	Carboneras, Spain (Training Anchorage)
BARNSTABLE COUNTY	Carboneras, Spain (Training Anchorage)
AUSTIN	Approx 38 13N, 005 17E, Westbound at 271900Z Based on 271000Z and 280600Z positions.
SANTA BARBARA	Sousse, Tunisia

Enclosure

<u>SHIP</u>	<u>LOCATION</u>
MT BAKER	Eastern Mediterranean (Departed Haifa 26 June, Arrived Augusta Bay 30 June)
SYLVANIA	Malaga, Spain
RIGEL	Malaga, Spain
CALOOSAHATCHEE	Aegean Sea (Departed Athens 26 June, Arrived Cagliari 30 June)
KALAMAZOO	Villefranche, France
RECOVERY	La Spezia
NEOSHO	Kalamata, Greece
GILMORE	La Maddalena
ORION	La Maddalena
SPADEFISH	La Maddalena
LAPON	Central Mediterranean
SEAHORSE	Central Mediterranean
GREENLING	Central Mediterranean

NOTE: Only the SARATOGA, DAHLGREN, DALE, BRISCOE,
COMTE DE GRASSE, STUMP, HEWES, AND VREELAND were
surface-to-air missile capable in 1980.

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JCS INFORMATION
SERVICE CENTER

IMMEDIATE
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TO USCINCEUR VAHINGEN GE//ECDC//
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SUBJ: ITALIAN REQUEST FOR ADDITIONAL INFORMATION CONCERNING
USTICA AIR CRASH (U)

1. (C) ITALIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE US PETRIGNANI VISITED CJCS ON 27 MAR 89 AND LEFT HIM A COPY OF AN AIDE-MEMOIRE THAT HE HAD SENT TO DEPSECDEF TAFT ON 23 MAR 89. THE AIDE-MEMOIRE, QUOTED VERBATIM BELOW, REQUESTS THE US PROVIDE ADDITIONAL INFORMATION CONCERNING THE JUN 80 USTICA DC-9 CRASH.

QUOTE. WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE ITALIAN GOVERNMENTAL INVESTIGATION ON THE DOWNING ON JUNE 27, 1980, IN THE CENTRAL TYRRHENIAN SEA (BETWEEN THE ISLANDS OF PONZA AND USTICA) OF AN ITAVIA DC-9 FLYING BETWEEN BOLOGNA AND PALERMO, THE ITALIAN AUTHORITIES HAVE ASKED FOR THE COOPERATION OF US AUTHORITIES IN ACQUIRING ADDITIONAL INFORMATION.

PURSUANT TO A REQUEST MADE ON DECEMBER 27, 1988, BY THE AMBASSADOR OF ITALY, THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF DEFENSE ALREADY PROVIDED THE AMBASSADOR OF ITALY - THROUGH HIS LETTER OF JANUARY 24, 1989 - INFORMATION ON THE MATTER, WHICH HAS BEEN HELPFUL TO THE ITALIAN GOVERNMENTAL INVESTIGATION COMMITTEE.

THE ITALIAN AUTHORITIES WOULD NOW APPRECIATE THE FURTHER COOPERATION OF THE U.S. AUTHORITIES IN ORDER TO ACQUIRE ADDITIONAL AND DETAILED INFORMATION ON SOME POINTS CRUCIAL FOR THE CONCLUSION OF THE INVESTIGATION. THEY ARE, IN PARTICULAR, INTERESTED IN KNOWING (AND THEY WOULD APPRECIATE THE MOST DETAILED ELEMENTS IN THIS REGARD):

A) WHETHER ANY US AIRCRAFT - HAVING TAKEN OFF EITHER FROM SARATOGA OR FROM ANY OTHER U.S. SHIP STATIONED IN THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA OR FROM LAND BASES - WERE AIRBORNE IN THE EVENING OF JUNE 27, 1980 IN AREAS AND IN PERIODS OF TIME EVEN NOT DIRECTLY RELATED TO THE ONES WHERE AND WHEN THE USTICA INCIDENT OCCURRED;

B) WHETHER EITHER SARATOGA OR OTHER US SHIPS HAVE VOICE, RADAR OR OTHER RECORDINGS OF AIR TRAFFIC OF ANY KIND IN THE EVENING OF JUNE 27, 1980 (SEVERAL ITALIAN NEWSPAPERS HAVE REPORTED THAT SUCH RECORDINGS DO INDEED EXIST AND, FURTHERMORE, THAT THEY MAY HAVE BEEN HANDED OVER TO THE ITALIAN JUDGE, ALTHOUGH THIS LAST DETAIL HAS ALREADY BEEN DENIED BY US AUTHORITIES);

C) THE POSITION OF SARATOGA AND ALL THE SHIPS COMPRISED IN OR RELATED TO ITS TASK FORCE IN THE EVENING OF JUNE 27, 1980, ON THE ONE HAND, AND, ON THE OTHER HAND, THE POSITION OF ANY OTHER US SHIP (I.E. NOT PERTAINING TO THE SARATOGA TASK FORCE AND NOT LYING AT ANCHOR IN THE ROADSTAD OF THE NAPOLI HARBOR) IN THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA IN THE EVENING IN QUESTION. WASHINGTON, D.C. MARCH 23, 1989. END QUOTE.

2. (C) THIS IS THE SECOND FORMAL REQUEST FROM AMB PETRIGNANI FOR INFORMATION CONCERNING THE CRASH. HIS FIRST AIDE-MEMOIRE, PRESENTED TO DEPSECDEF TAFT ON 27 DEC 88, WAS ANSWERED ON 24 JAN 89. BOTH THE AIDE-MEMOIRE AND THE DEPSECDEF RESPONSE ARE QUOTED BELOW FOR YOUR INFORMATION.

A. (C) AMB PETRIGNANI AIDE-MEMOIRE, 27 DEC 88.
QUOTE. WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE INVESTIGATION ON THE DOWNING ON JUNE 27, 1980 IN THE CENTRAL TYRRHENIAN SEA OF AN ITAVIA DC-9 FLYING BETWEEN BOLOGNA AND PALERMO, THE ITALIAN AUTHORITIES WOULD APPRECIATE THE COOPERATION OF U.S. AUTHORITIES IN ACQUIRING ADDITIONAL INFORMATION.

IN PARTICULAR THE ITALIAN AUTHORITIES WOULD LIKE TO KNOW IF ON THE EVENING OF JUNE 27, 1980, IN THE MOMENTS PRECEDING AND FOLLOWING THE ACTUAL TIME OF THE INCIDENT, AND IN THE PRESUMED LOCATION OF THE SAME, I.E.:

- IN THE PERIOD BETWEEN 18:45 AND 19:15 GMT OF JUNE 27, 1980;

- IN THE SPACE BETWEEN LATITUDE NORTH 39° 30' AND 40° 30', AND LONGITUDE EAST 12° 30' AND 13° 30'.

A) ANY U.S. MILITARY AIRCRAFT WAS FLYING IN THE AREA AND AT THE TIME INDICATED;

B) ANY U.S. NAVAL SHIP WAS IN THE AREA AND AT THE TIME INDICATED.

THE ITALIAN AUTHORITIES WOULD FURTHERMORE LIKE TO KNOW WHAT INFORMATION IS AVAILABLE FROM THE RADAR SYSTEMS OF U.S. EQUIPMENT WHICH HAPPENED TO BE IN THE ZONE AS DEFINED ABOVE OR IN OTHER AREAS SUFFICIENTLY CLOSE AS TO ALLOW RADAR MONITORING OF THE ZONE WHERE THE INCIDENT OCCURRED. WASHINGTON, D.C. DECEMBER 27, 1988. END QUOTE.

B. (C) DEPSECDEF TAFT RESPONSE, 24 JAN 89.

QUOTE. DEAR MR. AMBASSADOR:

PURSUANT TO YOUR REQUEST OF 27 DECEMBER 1988, WE AGAIN CHECKED INTO WHETHER ANY U.S. MILITARY AIRCRAFT OR SHIPS WERE OPERATING IN THE DESIGNATED AREAS ON 27 JUNE 1980, AND WHETHER WE HAVE ANY INFORMATION FROM THE RADAR SYSTEMS OF U.S. EQUIPMENT OPERATING IN OR NEAR THE AREA.

ALL MILITARY COMMANDERS IN THE AREA HAVE BEEN QUERIED IN RESPONSE TO YOUR AIDE MEMOIRE OF 27 DECEMBER 1988 AND ALL INFORMATION AVAILABLE INDICATES THAT THE UNITED STATES DID NOT HAVE SHIPS OR AIRCRAFT OPERATING IN THE TYRRHENIAN SEA AT THE TIME OF THE DC-9 CRASH. SINCE THERE WERE NO U.S. AIRCRAFT OR VESSELS OPERATING IN THE ZONE DEFINED IN YOUR AIDE MEMOIRE OR IN OTHER AREAS SUFFICIENTLY CLOSE AS TO ALLOW RADAR MONITORING OF THE ZONE WHERE THE INCIDENT OCCURRED, THERE IS NO INFORMATION THAT CAN BE PROVIDED FROM U.S. RADAR SYSTEMS.

I HOPE THAT THIS INFORMATION IS BENEFICIAL TO THE INVESTIGATING COMMISSION. IF I CAN BE OF ANY FURTHER HELP ON THIS ISSUE PLEASE LET ME KNOW. SINCERELY, WILLIAM H. TAFT, IV. END QUOTE.

3. (C) THE MOST RECENT AIDE-MEMOIRE EXPANDS THE SCOPE OF THE REQUEST FOR INFORMATION. IN ORDER TO PROVIDE THE MOST COMPLETE RESPONSE POSSIBLE, REQUEST YOU CONDUCT ANOTHER REVIEW OF THE INFORMATION AVAILABLE AND PROVIDE SPECIFIC RESPONSES FOR SUBPARAS A THROUGH C OF AMB PETRIGNANI'S AIDE MEMOIRE OF 23 MAR 89. ANY ADDITIONAL INFORMATION OR COMMENTS YOU HAVE THAT WILL ASSIST THE ITALIANS WOULD BE APPRECIATED. REQUEST YOUR RESPONSE BY 4 APR 89. DECL OADR BT

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ACTION J5(3)
INFO CJCS(7) DJS(1) SJS(1) DODCIV(1)

(M.C)

Declassified by
Joint Staff
30 Nov 90

MCN=89091/04125 TOR=89091/14472 TAD=89091/14572

CDSN=MAJ361

PAGE 1 OF 1
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INTERNATIONAL
SECURITY POLICY

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-2600

29 MAR 1980

In reply refer to:
I-51925/89

MEMORANDUM FOR DIRECTOR, JOINT STAFF

SUBJECT: Downing of Itavia DC-9 on 27 June 1980

On 23 March, Ambassador Petrignani sent an aide memoire to DepSecDef requesting information supporting the investigation of the loss of the Itavia DC-9 on 27 June 1980 (attached). We understand that the Chairman was given an identical aide memoire during his meeting with the Ambassador on 27 March.

I would appreciate the Joint Staff's assistance in providing the requested information so that the Deputy Secretary can reply. This information is requested by COB ~~26~~ April.

Ronald F. Lehman II
Ronald F. Lehman II

Attachment
as stated

* Extended per Mr Lazarus, X-72201, OSD/ISA

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UPON REMOVAL OF ATTACHMENTS THIS
DOCUMENT BECOMES UNCLASSIFIED

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SJS 1810/248-00

COPY NO. _____

4 April 1989

DISTRIBUTION B PLUS
J-5(5)

SECRETARY, JOINT STAFF DIRECTIVE

on

DOWNING OF ITAVIA DC-9 ON 27 JUNE 1980

1. The attached is referred to J-5 for DJS reply.
2. The suspense date for this action is 6 April 1989, unless an extension is coordinated with the Secretary, Joint Staff.

Joint Secretariat

UNCLASSIFIED WITHOUT ATTACHMENT

SJS 1810/248-00

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



INTERNATIONAL
SECURITY POLICY

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-2600

29 MAR 1989
In reply refer to:
I-51925/89

MEMORANDUM FOR DIRECTOR, JOINT STAFF

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I would appreciate the Joint Staff's assistance in providing the requested information so that the Deputy Secretary can reply. This information is requested by COB ~~24~~ April.

Ronald F. Lehman II
Ronald F. Lehman II

Attachment
as stated

* Extended per Mr. Lazarus, X-72201, OSD/ISP

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UPON REMOVAL OF ATTACHMENTS THIS
DOCUMENT BECOMES UNCLASSIFIED

JOINT STAFF ACTION PROCESSING FORM

4 DEC 89

TO: DJS	CLASSIFICATION CONFIDENTIAL	DIRECTORATE ACTION NO. J-5A 2720-00															
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SUBJECT USTICA: Charges That US Radar Has Records of Ustica Incident (U)																	

ACTION SUMMARY

1. (U) Purpose. Responds to AMEMBASSY Rome with proposed US coordinated reply for use in an "if asked" basis concerning the Ustica incident. *728A*
2. (U) Discussion
 - a. ^U On 4 May 1989 the CJCS forwarded* a memorandum to Secretary of Defense suggesting a response to Italian Ambassador Petrignani's request for more detailed information about the 27 June 80 crash of an ITAVIA DC-9 in the Tyrrhenian Sea. Deputy Secretary of Defense Atwood's letter of May 15, 1989** informed the Italians of the whereabouts of US aircraft; the fact that there were no US voice, radar, or other recordings available from the day of the crash; and finally, the position of the SARATOGA and its task force. That letter, which contains relevant unclassified information absolving US military assets of involvement in the crash, has never been made public by the Italians.
 - b. (U) Now the Italian Interparliamentary Commission on Slaughter and Terrorism is again looking into the crash. A member of the Italian Defense Committee of the Chamber of Deputies has stated that the radar of the USS SARATOGA, anchored off the port of Naples the night of the Ustica incident, must have registered what happened.

c. (U)

3. (U)

ACTION OFFICER M. L. Graves Lt Col, USAF J-5 EURDI 49431/MG556	COORDINATION/APPROVAL					
	OFFICE	NAME & DATE	EXTENSION	OFFICE	NAME & DATE	EXTENSION
	J-5	<i>Lt Col Butler n/r</i>	<i>57678</i>			
		J-5 LTIG GEORGE L. BUTLER, USAF				
	J-3	<i>Col NYLAND 1 Dec 89</i>	<i>35466</i>			
	LLC	<i>CPT SATTLER 1 Dec 89</i>	<i>71137</i>			
	PAO	<i>CPT SHARP 1 Dec 89</i>	<i>57678</i>			
DATE OF PREPARATION 1 DEC 89		CLASSIFICATION CONFIDENTIAL		DECLAS INSTRUCTIONS CLASS BY DJ5/DECLAS OADR		

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Attachment

References:

- * CM-1907-89
- ** OSD Atwood letter, 15 May 1989

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OFFICE OF THE CHAIRMAN
THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20318-0001

CM-1907-89
04 May 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

Subject: Downing of ITAVIA DC-9 on 27 June 1980

USCINCEUR conducted another review of its records in light of Ambassador Petrignani's recent aide memoire.* Based upon this new review, the attached memorandum has been prepared as a suggested response to Ambassador Petrignani.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "William J. Crowe, Jr.", is positioned above the typed name.

WILLIAM J. CROWE, JR.
Chairman
Joint Chiefs of Staff

Attachment

Reference:

* Italian Ambassador aide memoire, 23 March 1989

Document Serial

*Late breaking news —
Film at 11!*

*Partial
Answer
to the
problem*

UNCLASSIFIED

EB/TRA/AVP:JSGRAVATT:SAB
11/08/88 647-9341
EB/TRA/AVP:DRSCHWARTZ

5531

EUR/WE:RSNYDER
FAA/AFS-300:JCMACIDULL

NTSB:R BENSON, AI-30
PM/RASA/ISP:COL.JREAST

082338Z NOV 88

SECDEF

IMMEDIATE ROME

PRIORITY LONDON, PARIS PRIORITY, BONN PRIORITY, NAPLES PRIORITY,
PALERMO PRIORITY, BRUSSELS PRIORITY, USNATO PRIORITY, MILAN PRIORITY

N/A

STATE 365816

EAIR, MOPS, PREL, IT

THE U.S. AND THE USTICA AIR CRASH OF ITAVIA

DC-9

REF: ROME 25267

1. THE DEPARTMENT HAS OBTAINED THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION
FROM THE NATIONAL TRANSPORTATION SAFETY BOARD (NTSB) AS
A PARTIAL ANSWER TO REFTEL. {

2. IN ACCORDANCE WITH GRAVATT/WOOD TELECON, JOSEPH
PONTECORVO OF THE U.S. FEDERAL AVIATION ADMINISTRATION
{FAA}, THEN AT ROME, WAS APPOINTED BY NTSB AS THE U.S.
ACCREDITED REPRESENTATIVE FOR THE SUBJECT AIR CRASH.
MR. PONTECORVO CAN NOW BE REACHED IN THE FLIGHT
STANDARDS OFFICE OF FAA AT BRUSSELS.

3. FOLLOWING THE CRASH, AT THE REQUEST OF THE ITALIAN
GOVERNMENT JOHN C. MACIDULL (NOW AT FAA HEADQUARTERS
ON 202-267-9639), THEN SENIOR INVESTIGATOR, AIRCRAFT
PERFORMANCE, AT NTSB, PASSED TO THE ITALIAN GOVERNMENT
HIS ANALYSIS OF THE RADAR RECORDING {PARA. 3 OF REFTEL}.
NO COPIES WERE KEPT BY NTSB. AT THE TIME OF THE

DRS *de*
JSG *218*
RS *gab*
RB *gab*
JCM *gab*
CJRE *gab*

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2

FALKLANDS WAR, MACIDULL'S REPORT WAS REVEALED IN DETAIL ON AN HOUR-LONG BBC PANORAMA PROGRAM BY TOM MANGOLD. {THE PROGRAM WAS NOT SHOWN IN THE U.S. AND MACIDULL DOES NOT KNOW HOW HIS REPORT WAS OBTAINED.}

4. ON JUNE 11, 1987, THE NTSB ASSISTED AN ITALIAN DELEGATION IN THE READ-OUT OF THE ITAVIA DC-9'S COCKPIT VOICE RECORDER, WHICH HAD BEEN IN THE SEA FOR SEVEN YEARS BUT WAS IN GOOD CONDITION. THE TAPE READ AS IF EVERYTHING WAS NORMAL IN THE COCKPIT BUT THEN THERE CAME A SUDDEN END, APPARENTLY INDICATING A COMPLETE ELECTRICAL FAILURE IN THE AIRCRAFT.

5. NTSB IS TRYING TO REACH STEVEN LUND, WHO PARTICIPATED IN THE MCDONNELL-DOUGLAS INVESTIGATION. 44

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PRIORITY

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FM USIS ROME

TO USINFO WASHDC PRIORITY

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NSO LA MADDALENA IT

AMCONSUL NAPLES

NAVSUPACT NAPLES IT

PERSUPACT NAPLES IT

USNMR SHAPE BE

16AF TORREJON AB SP//PA//

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

JCS WASHDC

7275ABG SAN VITO DEI NORMANNI AS IT//PA//

CTF SIX SEVEN

CORSEB VICENZA IT//SAPA-SEB-XO//

USASETAF VICENZA IT//AESE-GBI-CIT//5TH SUPCOM//

USDEL NST GENEVA

ZYUW RUEHROA1563 2861208

487TMW COMISO AS IT//PA//

AMCONSUL FLORENCE

AMCONSUL GENOA

AMCONSUL MILAN

COMFAIRMED NAPLES IT

USDOCOSOUTH NAPLES IT

AMCONSUL PALERMO

OLA487TMW SIGONELLA IT//CC/PM//

USMISSION USNATO PRIORITY

USCINCEUR VAHINGEN GE//ECPAO//

SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY

NAS SIGONELLA IT

HEADLINES:

"COSSIGA: U.S.-ITALIAN RELATIONS ARE EXCELLENT" (FRONT PAGE, CORRIERE DELLA SERA)

"COSSIGA: 'THERE IS NO OLIVETTI CASE'" (FRONT PAGE, LEFTIST, INDEPENDENT LA REPUBBLICA)

"COSSIGA: 'LET'S FIGHT DRUGS IN COOPERATION WITH EASTERN EUROPE'" (LA STAMPA)

"COSSIGA: 'LET'S FIGHT TOGETHER AGAINST DRUGS'" (FRONT PAGE, IL MESSAGGERO)

"BUSH: 'WE WILL RESOLVE THE OLIVETTI CASE TOGETHER'" (FRONT PAGE, IL SOLE-24 ORE)

"OLIVETTI CASE TURNS INTO A STORM" (LEAD STORY, IL TEMPO)

"COSSIGA: 'THE OLIVETTI CASE IS NOT DIVIDING US'" (IL RESTO DEL CARLINO)

"THE OLIVETTI CASE DOES NOT SPOIL COSSIGA'S VISIT" (IL GIORNALE)

COMMENTS:

LEADING CENTRIST CORRIERE DELLA SERA REPORT FROM NEW YORK BY MASSIMO GAGGI: "THE ITALIAN AUTHORITIES ARE TRYING TO PLAY DOWN THE OLIVETTI-USSR AFFAIR WHICH BT

UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 04 ROME 21563

"PERISHABLE INFORMATION -- DO NOT SERVICE"

USIA FOR P/M

GENEVA PLEASE PASS TO NST-BOB HEATH

NAVSUPACT FOR PAO

TORREJON FOR 16TH AF/PA

VIENNA FOR USDEL

JOINT STAFF FOR J-5 LT. CL. LAGASSEY

STATE FOR EUR/WE, EUR/RPM, INR, PA

USINFO FOR P/PRC, P/FW, P/FN, VOA NEWS/CA, EU, P/ROMERSTEIN

E.O. 12356: N/A

SUBJECT: USIS ROME MEDIA REACTION REPORT

BROKE UP DURING COSSIGA'S VISIT. MEETING WITH JOURNALISTS YESTERDAY, COSSIGA ADMITTED THAT THE ISSUE OF 'STRATEGIC' TECHNOLOGY SALES TO THE USSR WAS RAISED BY PRESIDENT BUSH DURING THE MEETING AT THE WHITE HOUSE, BUT ADDED THAT IT 'DOES NOT CONCERN U.S.-ITALIAN BILATERAL RELATIONS AND THAT IT IS NOT A CONTENTIOUS ISSUE...' AMERICANS, HOWEVER... MADE A POINT OF EMPHASIZING THAT THE CASE IS A SERIOUS ONE, PROBABLY MORE SERIOUS THAN THE TOSHIBA CASE, ACCORDING TO BUSH ADMINISTRATION SOURCES...."

LEFTIST, INDEPENDENT LA REPUBBLICA REPORT FROM WASHINGTON: "ACCORDING TO COSSIGA, THE OLIVETTI CASE WAS CREATED BY MEDIA, THIRSTY FOR SENSATIONAL TITLES AT A TIME WHEN NO OTHER NEWS-MAKING EVENT CHARACTERIZED HIS VISIT TO WASHINGTON... 'NO CLOUDS, ASSURED COSSIGA, ARE SPOILING THE 'VERY SPECIAL,' LONG-TIME ROME-WASHINGTON FRIENDSHIP...."

LEADING ECONOMIC DAILY IL SOLE-24 ORE REPORT Y WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT MARIO PLATERO: "THE 'NDD COUPLE' OF ITALY'S FOREIGN POLICY -- A REASSURING AND CAUTIOUS PRESIDENT COSSIGA, AND AN AGGRESSIVE AND STRAIGHT-FORWARD FOREIGN MINISTER DE MICHELIS -- HAS ACHIEVED A VERY CLEAR GOAL IN WASHINGTON, I.E., INFORMING THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION ABOUT THE NEW PRIORITIES OF THE ITALIAN GOVERNMENT, AIMED AT ASSIGNING TO OUR COUNTRY A PROMINENT ROLE IN EUROPE'S NEW CONFIGURATION...."

ROME CENTRIST IL MESSAGGERO REPORT FROM WASHINGTON: "'WE COULD NOT HAVE BEEN RECEIVED BETTER THAN THIS,' COMMENTED COSSIGA THE DAY AFTER THE RECEPTION IN HIS HONOR AT THE WHITE HOUSE... IN ANY EVENT, SAID COSSIGA, 'NO DIFFERENCES OF A POLITICAL NATURE EXIST

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STATE FOR EUR/WE, EUR/RPM, INR, PA

USINFO FOR P/PRC, P/FW, P/FN, VOA NEWS/CA, EU, P/ROMERSTEIN

E.O. 12356: N/A

SUBJECT: USIS ROME MEDIA REACTION REPORT

MEDIA REACTION REPORT -- OCTOBER 13, 1989

A. LEAD STORIES: ITALIAN PRESIDENT COSSIGA'S VISIT TO THE U.S.: THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN EAST GERMANY; NEW REVELATIONS ABOUT THE 1980 USTICA AIRCRASH.

THIS REPORT WILL FOCUS ON THE FOLLOWING ITEMS:

1. ITALIAN PRESIDENT COSSIGA'S VISIT TO THE U.S.
2. EAST GERMANY
3. 1980 USTICA AIR CRASH

B. TREATMENT

1. ITALIAN PRESIDENT COSSIGA'S VISIT TO WASHINGTON

REPORTS ON PRESIDENT COSSIGA'S STATE VISIT TO THE U.S. DRAW UPON COSSIGA'S PRESS CONFERENCE AT THE CONCLUSION OF HIS MEETINGS IN WASHINGTON WITH PRESIDENT BUSH AND OTHER ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS. FOCUS IS ON THE ITALIAN PRESIDENT'S COMMENTS ABOUT THE OLIVETTI CASE, SEEN AS AN ATTEMPT TO PLAY IT DOWN IN THE FACE OF U.S. AND ITALIAN PRESS REPORTS TALKING OF A "CLOUD" IN U.S.-ITALIAN RELATIONS.

JOINT STAFF

ACTION J5(3)

INFO CJCS(7) DJS:(1) J7(6) SHAPE LNO(2) USDP:PDISP(1) (M)

USDP:DASDEUR(2) USDP:DSAA(4) USDP:ESN(1) USDP:VP(1)

USDP:EUR POL(1) USDP:REG POL(1) USDP:NATOPOL(1)

VP-FRD(1) S030(2)

+NATS CJS WASHINGTON DC

+USEUCOM AIDES VAHINGEN GE

+COMJSOC FT BRAGG NC//J2//

+DIRAFMIC FT DETRICK MD//IS//

+USCINCSOC INTEL OPS CEN MACDILL AFB FL

+MAC INTEL CEN SCOTT AFB IL//IN//

+FSTC INTEL OPS CHARLOTTESVILLE VA

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MCN=89286/04577

TOR=89286/1210Z

TAD=89286/1213Z

CDSN=MAZ155

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BETWEEN ITALY AND THE U.S. WHICH COULD AFFECT FUTURE INITIATIVES IN THE FIELD OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS'" CENTRIST LA STAMPA REPORT FROM WASHINGTON BY SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT PAOLO PATRINO: "WE CAN SAY THAT COSSIGA'S STATE VISIT TO THE U.S. WAS CHARACTERIZED BY AN EXCELLENT ATMOSPHERE IN BILATERAL RELATIONS... THE TWO PRESIDENTS ESTABLISHED A FRIENDLY, PERSONAL RELATIONSHIP ..."

BOLOGNA'S CENTER-RIGHT IL RESTO DEL CARLINO REPORT FROM WASHINGTON: "A SUCCESS. 'IT COULD NOT HAVE GONE BT
UNCLAS SECTION 03 OF 04 ROME 21563

"PERISHABLE INFORMATION -- DO NOT SERVICE"

USIA FOR P/M
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VIENNA FOR USDEL
JOINT STAFF FOR J-5 LT. CL. LAGASSEY
STATE FOR EUR/WE, EUR/RPM, INR, PA
USINFO FOR P/PRC, P/FW, P/FN, VOA NEWS/CA, EU,
P/ROMERSTEIN

E.O. 12356: N/A
SUBJECT: USIS ROME MEDIA REACTION REPORT

BETTER THAN THIS'... COSSIGA DID NOT HIDE HIS SATISFACTION ABOUT THE ATMOSPHERE AND THE RESULTS OF HIS TALKS WITH PRESIDENT BUSH AND OTHER TOP-LEVEL ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS... A FRIENDLY, BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP WHICH WAS NOT SPOILED EVEN BY U.S. SUSPICION ABOUT THE POSSIBLE EXPORTS OF HIGH TECHNOLOGY TO THE USSR BY OLIVETTI..."

LEADING CONSERVATIVE IL GIORNALE: "THE CIA CONDUCTED INVESTIGATIONS, STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS PREPARED A DOSSIER, A U.S. UNDER SECRETARY IS ABOUT TO GO TO ROME TO ASK FOR CLARIFICATIONS, BUSH RAISED THE PROBLEM DURING THE MEETING IN THE OVAL OFFICE. YET FOR FRANCESCO COSSIGA THE 'OLIVETTI CASE IS NOT A CASE'.... U.S.-ITALIAN RELATIONS ARE STILL EXCELLENT EVEN THOUGH SOME DIFFERENCES EXIST. PRESIDENT COSSIGA, FOR EXAMPLE, ADMITTED 'DIFFERENCES' ON LIBYA... POSITIONS ARE DIFFERENT ALSO ON THE DRUG ISSUE. THE ITALIAN PRESIDENT SAID THAT 'THE BUSH PLAN IS VALID, BUT IS STRICTLY LINKED TO THE SITUATION IN THE U.S., TO THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THAT NATION.' IN SHORT, 'IT IS NOT EXPORTABLE, EVEN THOUGH WE CANNOT LEAVE THE UNITED STATES ALONE IN ITS FIGHT AGAINST DRUGS'."

2. EAST GERMANY

HEADLINES:

"'BILD': 'HONECKER IS GOING TO RESIGN' -- HOPES AND DOUBTS IN BERLIN" (FRONT PAGE, CORRIERE DELLA SERA)
"BERLIN LOOKING FOR HIS OWN GORBACHEV" (LEFTIST, INDEPENDENT LA REPUBBLICA)
"HONECKER'S DAYS ARE NUMBERED" (LEAD STORY, LA STAMPA)
"HONECKER TO RESIGN IN A WEEK?" (LEAD STORY, IL GIORNALE)
COMMENTS:

FRONT-PAGE REPORT FROM BERLIN IN CENTRIST LA STAMPA: "THE EAST GERMAN POPULATION, ASTONISHED BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY LEADERSHIP'S SUDDEN ACCEPTANCE OF THE REQUESTS BY REFORMIST GROUPS, DID NOT REACT YESTERDAY TO THE UNEXPECTED OPENING. DOES THE DATE OF OCTOBER 11 REALLY MARK THE BEGINNING OF PERESTROIKA, OR IS IT SIMPLY A TACTICAL MOVE, THE REPRESENTATIVES OF POPULAR MOVEMENTS WERE WONDERING YESTERDAY...?"

BT
UNCLAS SECTION 04 OF 04 ROME 21563

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TORREJON FOR 16TH AF/PA
VIENNA FOR USDEL
JOINT STAFF FOR J-5 LT. CL. LAGASSEY
STATE FOR EUR/WE, EUR/RPM, INR, PA
USINFO FOR P/PRC, P/FW, P/FN, VOA NEWS/CA, EU,
P/ROMERSTEIN

E.O. 12356: N/A
SUBJECT: USIS ROME MEDIA REACTION REPORT

3. 1980 USTICA AIR CRASH

REPORTS ON ONGOING INVESTIGATIONS OF THE 1980 USTICA AIR CRASH LEAD WITH ITALIAN AIR FORCE CHIEF OF STAFF FRANCO PISANO'S TESTIMONY IN WHICH PISANO AFFIRMED THAT A "FRIENDLY" FIGHTER PLANE WAS FLYING CLOSE TO THE ITAVIA DC-9 THE DAY OF THE ACCIDENT. COMMENTATORS TALK OF A SENSATIONAL REVELATION WHICH COULD LEAD TO A TURNING POINT IN INVESTIGATIONS.

HEADLINES (FRONT PAGES):

"USTICA: THE GENERAL CHANGES HIS TRUTH" (CORRIERE DELLA SERA)
"THE GENERAL CONFESSES: 'ANOTHER AIRPLANE WAS FLYING BEHIND THE DC-9'" (LEFTIST, INDEPENDENT LA REPUBBLICA)
"PISANO: A 'FRIENDLY' JET WAS FLYING CLOSE TO THE DC-9" (IL MESSAGGERO)
"THERE WAS A FIGHTER PLANE (FRENCH?)" (IL TEMPO)
"GHOST AIRPLANE SURFACES IN THE USTICA MYSTERY" (IL GIORNALE) LEWINSCHW BT

MCN=89286/04577 TOR=89286/1210Z TAD=89286/1213Z CDSN=MAZ155

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131159Z OCT 89
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FM JOINT STAFF WASHINGTON DC//DJS//

TO USCINCEUR VAHINGEN GE//ECDC//

INFO CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK

USDAO ROME IT

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SUBJ: ITALIAN REQUEST FOR ADDITIONAL INFORMATION CONCERNING
USTICA AIR CRASH (U)

1. (C) ITALIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE US PETRIGNANI VISITED CJCS ON 27 MAR 89 AND LEFT HIM A COPY OF AN AIDE-MEMOIRE THAT HE HAD SENT TO DEPSECDEF TAFT ON 23 MAR 89. THE AIDE-MEMOIRE, QUOTED VERBATIM BELOW, REQUESTS THE US PROVIDE ADDITIONAL INFORMATION CONCERNING THE JUN 80 USTICA DC-9 CRASH.

QUOTE. WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE ITALIAN GOVERNMENTAL INVESTIGATION ON THE DOWNING ON JUNE 27, 1980, IN THE CENTRAL TYRRHENIAN SEA (BETWEEN THE ISLANDS OF PONZA AND USTICA) OF AN ITAVIA DC-9 FLYING BETWEEN BOLOGNA AND PALERMO, THE ITALIAN AUTHORITIES HAVE ASKED FOR THE COOPERATION OF US AUTHORITIES IN ACQUIRING ADDITIONAL INFORMATION.

PURSUANT TO A REQUEST MADE ON DECEMBER 27, 1988, BY THE AMBASSADOR OF ITALY, THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF DEFENSE ALREADY PROVIDED THE AMBASSADOR OF ITALY - THROUGH HIS LETTER OF JANUARY 24, 1989 - INFORMATION ON THE MATTER, WHICH HAS BEEN HELPFUL TO THE ITALIAN GOVERNMENTAL INVESTIGATION COMMITTEE.

THE ITALIAN AUTHORITIES WOULD NOW APPRECIATE THE FURTHER COOPERATION OF THE U.S. AUTHORITIES IN ORDER TO ACQUIRE ADDITIONAL AND DETAILED INFORMATION ON SOME POINTS CRUCIAL FOR THE CONCLUSION OF THE INVESTIGATION. THEY ARE, IN PARTICULAR, INTERESTED IN KNOWING (AND THEY WOULD APPRECIATE THE MOST DETAILED ELEMENTS IN THIS REGARD):

A) WHETHER ANY US AIRCRAFT - HAVING TAKEN OFF EITHER FROM SARATOGA OR FROM ANY OTHER U.S. SHIP STATIONED IN THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA OR FROM LAND BASES - WERE AIRBORNE IN THE EVENING OF JUNE 27, 1980 IN AREAS AND IN PERIODS OF TIME EVEN NOT DIRECTLY RELATED TO THE ONES WHERE AND WHEN THE USTICA INCIDENT OCCURRED;

B) WHETHER EITHER SARATOGA OR OTHER US SHIPS HAVE VOICE, RADAR OR OTHER RECORDINGS OF AIR TRAFFIC OF ANY KIND IN THE EVENING OF JUNE 27, 1980 (SEVERAL ITALIAN NEWSPAPERS HAVE REPORTED THAT SUCH RECORDINGS DO INDEED EXIST AND, FURTHERMORE, THAT THEY MAY HAVE BEEN HANDED OVER TO THE ITALIAN JUDGE, ALTHOUGH THIS LAST DETAIL HAS ALREADY BEEN DENIED BY US AUTHORITIES);

C) THE POSITION OF SARATOGA AND ALL THE SHIPS COMPRISED IN OR RELATED TO ITS TASK FORCE IN THE EVENING OF JUNE 27, 1980, ON THE ONE HAND, AND, ON THE OTHER HAND, THE POSITION OF ANY OTHER US SHIP (I.E. NOT PERTAINING TO THE SARATOGA TASK FORCE AND NOT LYING AT ANCHOR IN THE ROADSTEAD OF THE NAPOLI HARBOR) IN THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA IN THE EVENING IN QUESTION. WASHINGTON, D.C. MARCH 23, 1989. END QUOTE.

2. (C) THIS IS THE SECOND FORMAL REQUEST FROM AMB PETRIGNANI FOR INFORMATION CONCERNING THE CRASH. HIS FIRST AIDE-MEMOIRE, PRESENTED TO DEPSECDEF TAFT ON 27 DEC 88, WAS ANSWERED ON 24 JAN 89. BOTH THE AIDE-MEMOIRE AND THE DEPSECDEF RESPONSE ARE QUOTED BELOW FOR YOUR INFORMATION.

A. (C) AMB PETRIGNANI AIDE-MEMOIRE, 27 DEC 88.

QUOTE. WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE INVESTIGATION ON THE DOWNING ON JUNE 27, 1980 IN THE CENTRAL TYRRHENIAN SEA OF AN ITAVIA DC-9 FLYING BETWEEN BOLOGNA AND PALERMO, THE ITALIAN AUTHORITIES WOULD APPRECIATE THE COOPERATION OF U.S. AUTHORITIES IN ACQUIRING ADDITIONAL INFORMATION.

IN PARTICULAR THE ITALIAN AUTHORITIES WOULD LIKE TO KNOW IF ON THE EVENING OF JUNE 27, 1980, IN THE MOMENTS PRECEDING AND FOLLOWING THE ACTUAL TIME OF THE INCIDENT, AND IN THE PRESUMED LOCATION OF THE SAME, I.E.:

- IN THE PERIOD BETWEEN 18:45 AND 19:15 GMT OF JUNE 27, 1980;

- IN THE SPACE BETWEEN LATITUDE NORTH 39° 30' AND 40° 30', AND LONGITUDE EAST 12° 30' AND 13° 30'.

A) ANY U.S. MILITARY AIRCRAFT WAS FLYING IN THE AREA AND AT THE TIME INDICATED;

B) ANY U.S. NAVAL SHIP WAS IN THE AREA AND AT THE TIME INDICATED.

THE ITALIAN AUTHORITIES WOULD FURTHERMORE LIKE TO KNOW WHAT INFORMATION IS AVAILABLE FROM THE RADAR SYSTEMS OF U.S. EQUIPMENT WHICH HAPPENED TO BE IN THE ZONE AS DEFINED ABOVE OR IN OTHER AREAS SUFFICIENTLY CLOSE AS TO ALLOW RADAR MONITORING OF THE ZONE WHERE THE INCIDENT OCCURRED. WASHINGTON, D.C. DECEMBER 27, 1988. END QUOTE.

B. (C) DEPSECDEF TAFT RESPONSE, 24 JAN 89.

QUOTE. DEAR MR. AMBASSADOR:

PURSUANT TO YOUR REQUEST OF 27 DECEMBER 1988, WE AGAIN CHECKED INTO WHETHER ANY U.S. MILITARY AIRCRAFT OR SHIPS WERE OPERATING IN THE DESIGNATED AREAS ON 27 JUNE 1980, AND WHETHER WE HAVE ANY INFORMATION FROM THE RADAR SYSTEMS OF U.S. EQUIPMENT OPERATING IN OR NEAR THE AREA.

ALL MILITARY COMMANDERS IN THE AREA HAVE BEEN QUERIED IN RESPONSE TO YOUR AIDE MEMOIRE OF 27 DECEMBER 1988 AND ALL INFORMATION AVAILABLE INDICATES THAT THE UNITED STATES DID NOT HAVE SHIPS OR AIRCRAFT OPERATING IN THE TYRRHENIAN SEA AT THE TIME OF THE DC-9 CRASH. SINCE THERE WERE NO U.S. AIRCRAFT OR VESSELS OPERATING IN THE ZONE DEFINED IN YOUR AIDE MEMOIRE OR IN OTHER AREAS SUFFICIENTLY CLOSE AS TO ALLOW RADAR MONITORING OF THE ZONE WHERE THE INCIDENT OCCURRED, THERE IS NO INFORMATION THAT CAN BE PROVIDED FROM U.S. RADAR SYSTEMS.

I HOPE THAT THIS INFORMATION IS BENEFICIAL TO THE INVESTIGATING COMMISSION. IF I CAN BE OF ANY FURTHER HELP ON THIS ISSUE PLEASE LET ME KNOW. SINCERELY, WILLIAM H. TAFT, IV. END QUOTE.

3. (C) THE MOST RECENT AIDE-MEMOIRE EXPANDS THE SCOPE OF THE REQUEST FOR INFORMATION. IN ORDER TO PROVIDE THE MOST COMPLETE RESPONSE POSSIBLE, REQUEST YOU CONDUCT ANOTHER REVIEW OF THE INFORMATION AVAILABLE AND PROVIDE SPECIFIC RESPONSES FOR SUBPARAS A THROUGH C OF AMB PETRIGNANI'S AIDE MEMOIRE OF 23 MAR 89. ANY ADDITIONAL INFORMATION OR COMMENTS YOU HAVE THAT WILL ASSIST THE ITALIANS WOULD BE APPRECIATED. REQUEST YOUR RESPONSE BY 4 APR 89. DECL OADR BT

F JS EXCLUSIVE MESSAGE DISTRIBUTION		
	ACT	INFO
Director		1
V/Director		1
DDPMA		2
EUR	X	
DDPDSP		1
DDIW		

ACTION J5(3)

INFO CJCS(7) DJS(1) SJS(1) DODDIV(1)

(M.C)

Declassified by
Joint Staff
30 Nov 90

MCN=89091/04125

TOR=89091/1447Z

TAD=89091/1457Z

CDSN=MAJ361

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011447Z APR 89

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JCS INFORMATION
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PRIORITY
P 221450Z MAR 89 ZNZ1
FM USIS ROME
TO USINFO WASHDC PRIORITY
40TACGP AVIANO AB IT//CC/IN/PA//
COMSIXTHFLT
COMSUBGR: EIGHT
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMCONSUL MILAN
COMFAIRMED NAPLES IT
USDOCOSOUTH NAPLES IT
AMCONSUL PALERMO
OLA487TMW SIGONELLA IT//CC/PM//
USMISSION USNATO PRIORITY
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE//ECPAO//
SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY
7275ABG SAN VITO DEI NORMANNI AS IT//PA//
CTF SIX SEVEN
CDRSEB VICENZA IT//SAPA-SEB-XO//
USASSETAF VICENZA IT//AESE-GBI-CIT//5TH SUPCOM//
USDEL NST GENEVA
ZYUW RUEHROA6153 0811503
487TMW COMISO AS IT//PA//
AMCONSUL FLORENCE
AMCONSUL GENOA
NSO LA MADDALENA IT
AMCONSUL NAPLES
NAVSUPPACT NAPLES IT
PERSUPPACT NAPLES IT
USNMR SHAPE BE
16AF TORREJON AB SP//PA//
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
JCS WASHDC
NAS SIGONELLA IT

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 04 ROME 06153

"PERISHABLE INFORMATION -- DO NOT SERVICE"
GENEVA PLEASE PASS TO NST-TERRY SHROEDER
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TORREJON FOR PA MAJ. GILLETTE
VIENNA FOR USDEL
JCS FOR J-5 MAJ. LAGASSEY
STATE FOR EUR/WE, EUR/RPM, INR, PA
USINFO FOR P/PRC, P/FW, P/FN, VOA NEWS/CA, EU,
P/ROMERSTEIN

E.O. 12356: N/A
SUBJECT: USIS ROME MEDIA REACTION REPORT
MEDIA REACTION REPORT -- MARCH 22, 1989

A. LEAD STORIES: PCI CONGRESS IN ROME; CONTINUING
COURT-ORDERED CHECK-UPS BY POLICE ON ABSENTEEISM IN
GOVERNMENT MINISTRIES.

- THIS REPORT WILL FOCUS ON THE FOLLOWING ITEMS:

- 1. THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION/U.S. SOCIETY
- 2. ELECTIONS IN EL SALVADOR

B. TREATMENT

- 1. THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION/U.S. SOCIETY
- LEAD U.S. ITEM IS POSSIBLE TOUGHER MEASURES BY THE
BUSH ADMINISTRATION TO CURB DRUG-RELATED VIOLENCE IN
WASHINGTON D.C., INCLUDING STRENGTHENED GUN CONTROL
MEASURES AND THE USE OF FEDERAL TROOPS. ON A
DIFFERENT SUBJECT, CORRIERE DELLA SERA COMMENTS ON THE
APPOINTMENT OF LAWRENCE EAGLEBURGER AS DEPUTY
SECRETARY OF STATE.

- HEADLINES:

- "BUSH SEEKS ANTI-CRIME CURE: 'LET'S SAVE
WASHINGTON WITH THE ARMY IF NECESSARY'" (LEFTIST,
INDEPENDENT LA REPUBBLICA)

JCS
ACTION J5(3)
INFO CJCS(5) DJS:(1) SJS(1) J3(4) NIDS(1) J7(6)
(U,P,6,7)
QUAL CONTROL(1) J5-NUC/CHEM-J(1) J5-CT&S-J(1)
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NMIC(1) DIA(1)
+OCSA WASHINGTON DC
+USEUCOM AIDES VAIHINGEN GE
+SAFE

- "NIGHTTIME IN THE CITY OF CRIME" (IL MESSAGGERO)
- "'CRACK' STRIKES WASHINGTON AT ITS HEART" (IL
TEMPO)
- "VIOLENCE IN WASHINGTON: BUSH WANTS THE ARMY"
(IL GIORNALE)
- "WASHINGTON: THE MILITARY (MAY ALSO BE USED)
AGAINST VIOLENT YOUTH" (COMMUNIST PARTY ORGAN
L'UNITA')

- COMMENTS:

- ANNA GUAITA REPORTS FROM WASHINGTON IN ROME
CENTRIST IL MESSAGGERO: "WASHINGTON...RISKS
COLLAPSING UNDER THE WEIGHT OF DRUGS, AND GEORGE BUSH
BELIEVES THE TIME HAS COME TO PLAY HARDBALL. THE
PRESIDENT IS CONSIDERING BRINGING IN THE NATIONAL
GUARD TO PATROL THE STREETS OF AMERICA'S CAPITAL, AS
WAS THE CASE DURING THE VIOLENT RACIAL REVOLTS OF
1968....."

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E.O. 12356: N/A
SUBJECT: USIS ROME MEDIA REACTION REPORT

- ENRICO FRANCESCHINI FROM WASHINGTON IN LEFTIST,
INDEPENDENT LA REPUBBLICA: "NO CURFEW FOR NOW...BUT
THE NATIONAL GUARD, OR THE U.S. ARMY, COULD BE BROUGHT
IN TO PATROL WASHINGTON AGAINST VIOLENCE AND
DRUGS..... THE IDEA HAD BEEN CIRCULATING IN
WASHINGTON FOR SOME DAYS, AND NOW THE PRESIDENT
HIMSELF HAS MENTIONED IT. IF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
POLICE PROVES POWERLESS, BUSH TOLD HIS ASSISTANTS
ACCORDING TO THE NEW YORK TIMES, 'WE MUST CONSIDER
DEPLOYING REGULAR MILITARY FORCES' IN ORDER TO RESTORE
ORDER QND SOCIAL PEACE...Q..."

- "EAGLEBURGER BRINGS KISSINGER PHILOSOPHY BACK TO
THE WHITE HOUSE" -- GIANNI RIOTTA'S REPORT FROM NEW
YORK IN LEADING CENTRIST CORRIERE DELLA SERA PREDICTS
THAT BOTH EAGLEBURGER AND NSC ADVISOR SCOWCROFT WILL
FOLLOW A "PRAGMATIC APPROACH." ANALYZING SPECIFIC
ISSUES, RIOTTA WRITES THAT "ON CENTRAL AMERICA,
EAGLEBURGER SEEMS MORE CONCERNED ABOUT SOVIET
INFLUENCE IN THE AREA THAN ABOUT THE 'PROCESS OF
DEMOCRATIZATION' SO CLOSE TO THE HEART OF NOBEL PRIZE
WINNER, PRESIDENT ARIAS. LIKE KISSINGER, EAGLEBURGER
IS CAUTIOUS ON 'THE END OF THE COLD WAR' AND SKEPTICAL
ABOUT THE REAL INTENTIONS OF THE SOVIET LEADER....."

- 2. ELECTIONS IN EL SALVADOR

- REPORTS BY U.S.-BASED CORRESPONDENTS IN SOME
NEWSPAPERS FOCUS ON REACTION IN THE U.S. TO THE
OUTCOME OF THE SALVADORAN ELECTIONS.

- "DISAPPOINTMENT IN WASHINGTON OVER CHRISTIAN
DEMOCRATIC PARTY'S DEFEAT" -- ENRICO FRANCESCHINI
WRITES FROM WASHINGTON IN LEFTIST, INDEPENDENT LA
REPUBBLICA: "THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION MUST COME TO
GRIPS WITH THE VICTORY...OF THE ARENA RIGHTIST PARTY
AND ITS PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE, ALFREDO
CRISTIANI..... MANY PEOPLE IN WASHINGTON ARE
CONCERNED THAT CRISTIANI...MAY NOT BE ABLE TO MAINTAIN
THE LEADERSHIP OF HIS PARTY, BECOMING A SORT OF
'PUPPET' OF ARENA'S REAL LEADER, ROBERTO D'AUBUISSON.

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BELIEVED TO BE THE INSTIGATOR OF POLITICAL ASSASSINATIONS AND CONTINUING HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS..... FOR THE TIME BEING, THE WHITE HOUSE INTENDS TO GIVE CRISTIANI 'THE BENEFIT OF THE DOUBT'... CONGRESS, HOWEVER, IS MORE SKEPTICAL, AND THERE HAVE BEEN PROPOSALS TO IMMEDIATELY SUSPEND OR

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E.O. 12356: N/A
SUBJECT: USIS ROME MEDIA REACTION REPORT

HALVE U.S. AID TO EL SALVADOR UNTIL THE CRISTIANI GOVERNMENT FULFILLS ITS PROMISE TO END DEATH SQUAD ABUSES....."

- "AID TO EL SALVADOR A DILEMMA FOR BUSH" --
UNSIGNED REPORT FROM WASHINGTON IN CENTRIST LA
STAMPA: "CONGRESS AND THE STATE DEPARTMENT REACTED IN
OPPOSITE WAYS TO THE RIGHTIST VICTORY IN THE
SALVADORAN ELECTION. EVEN THOUGH BOTH ADMITTED THAT IT
POSES SERIOUS PROBLEMS FOR THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION.
DEMOCRATIC CONGRESSMEN HAVE ASKED THAT (THE SIZE) OF
U.S. AID TO EL SALVADOR BE REVIEWED, CONVINCED AS THEY
ARE THAT THE SALVADORAN GOVERNMENT WILL NOT BE LED SO
MUCH BY CRISTIANI AS BY D'AUBUISSON... THE STATE
DEPARTMENT SPOKESMAN, REDMAN, PROMISED U.S. SUPPORT
FOR ARENA 'PROVIDED THAT IT APPLIES DEMOCRATIC
PRINCIPLES AND RESPECTS HUMAN RIGHTS'... THIS
DIFFERENCE OF VIEWS, WHICH SEEMS LIKELY TO GROW, COULD
HAVE NEGATIVE REPERCUSSIONS ON CENTRAL AMERICA AS A
WHOLE....."

- A REPORT FROM SAN SALVADOR IN ROME CENTRIST IL
TEMPO, BY SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT GIORGIO TORCHIA, IS
HEADLINED, "EL SALVADOR AWAITING A SIGNAL FROM THE
U.S." SUBHEAD: "THE SALVADORAN RIGHT, AFTER WINNING
THE ELECTION, REALIZES THAT IT CANNOT DO WITHOUT VITAL
U.S. ECONOMIC AND MILITARY AID."

C. OTHER ITEMS OF INTEREST

- U.S.-PLO DIALOGUE: LEFTIST, INDEPENDENT LA
REPUBBLICA CARRIES REPORT FROM TUNIS PREVIEWING
TODAY'S MEETING BETWEEN PLO REPRESENTATIVES AND U.S.
AMBASSADOR TO TUNIS, ROBERT PELLETREAU. ARTICLE SAYS
THAT "ACCORDING TO PALESTINIAN SOURCES, THE MEETING --
THE FIRST OFFICIAL ONE SINCE THE INAUGURATION OF
GEORGE BUSH -- WAS REQUESTED BY THE UNITED
STATES..... THE AGENDA OF THE MEETING HAS NOT BEEN
REVEALED, BUT PALESTINIAN SOURCES INFORMED US THAT IT
WILL FOCUS ON THREE MAIN ISSUES: THE DEFINITION OF
'TERRORISM' BY THE PLO... PROSPECTS FOR AN
INTERNATIONAL PEACE CONFERENCE FOR THE MIDDLE EAST;
THE ISRAELI ATTITUDE OF POLITICAL INTRANSIGENCE AND
THE REPRESSION OF THE PALESTINIAN REVOLT IN THE
OCCUPIED TERRITORIES."

- 1980 USTICA AIR CRASH INQUIRY: ROME CENTRIST IL

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E.O. 12356: N/A
SUBJECT: USIS ROME MEDIA REACTION REPORT

MESSAGGERO FEATURES FRONT-PAGE INTERVIEW WITH FORMER
SECRETARY OF STATE EDMUND MUSKIE IN WHICH MUSKIE
DENIES REPORTS THAT HE WAS FLYING FROM ANKARA TO
LISBON ON THE DAY OF THE USTICA INCIDENT. SEPARATE
QUOTES ATTRIBUTED TO MUSKIE AND A STATE DEPARTMENT
SPOKESPERSON (NANCY BACK) INDICATE THAT MUSKIE
TRAVELLED EASTWARD FROM ANKARA (TO KUALA LUMPUR VIA
INDIA) DURING THE PERIOD IN QUESTION. IL MESSAGGERO
ACCOUNT ALSO STATES THAT BY THE TIME OF THE INCIDENT
(JUNE 27, 1980), PRESIDENT CARTER HAD ALREADY LEFT
LISBON FOR THE UNITED STATES. THE TIMING OF THE ABOVE
TRAVEL WAS SPECULATED ON IN EARLIER ITALIAN PRESS
ACCOUNTS OF THE USTICA TRAGEDY, ALLEGING THAT THE
ITAVIA DC-9 WAS ERRONEOUSLY HIT BY FIGHTERS EITHER
ATTACKING OR DEFENDING A PLANE CARRYING A FOREIGN
VIP. LEWINSOHN BT

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COMSIXTHFLT
COMSUGRU EIGHT
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMCONSUL MILAN
COMFAIRMED NAPLES IT
USDOSOUTH NAPLES IT
AMCONSUL PALERMO
OLA487TMW SIGONELLA IT//CC/PM//
USMISSION USNATO PRIORITY
USCINCEUR VAHINGEN GE//ECPAO//
SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY
7275ABG SAN VITO DEI NORMANNI AS IT//PA//
CTF SIX SEVEN
CORSEB VICENZA IT//SAPA-SEB-XO//
USASETAF VICENZA IT//AESE-GBI-CIT//5TH SUPCOM//
USDEL NST GENEVA

487TMW COMISO AS IT//PA//
AMCONSUL FLORENCE
AMCONSUL GENOA
NSO LA MADDALENA IT
AMCONSUL NAPLES
NAVSUPACT NAPLES IT
PERSUPACT NAPLES IT
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16AF TORREJON AB SP//PA//
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
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E.O. 12356: N/A

SUBJECT: USIS ROME MEDIA REACTION REPORT
MEDIA REACTION REPORT -- MARCH 21, 1989

A. LEAD STORIES: COURT-ORDERED IMPROMPTU CHECK-UPS BY
POLICE ON EMPLOYEES' UNJUSTIFIED ABSENCES FROM WORK IN
SEVERAL GOVERNMENT MINISTRIES; PCI CONGRESS IN ROME;
THE OUTCOME OF EL SALVADOR'S PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS.

THIS REPORT WILL FOCUS ON THE FOLLOWING ITEMS:

1. ELECTIONS IN EL SALVADOR
2. 1980 USTICA AIR CRASH INQUIRY

B. TREATMENT

1. ELECTIONS IN EL SALVADOR

MEDIA GIVE PROMINENT ATTENTION TO THE OUTCOME OF
THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS IN EL SALVADOR WITH
COMMENTS ON THE ACCOMPANYING VIOLENCE AND
INTIMIDATION. COMMENTATORS SPECULATE ON HOW THE
RIGHTIST VICTORY WILL AFFECT U.S.-SALVADORAN TIES.

HEADLINES:

- "THE RIGHT TRIUMPHS IN EL SALVADOR" (FRONT PAGE,
CORRIERE DELLA SERA)
- "EL SALVADOR: THE RIGHT PREVAILS" (LEAD STORY,
LA STAMPA)
- "A BLOODY VICTORY IN EL SALVADOR" (LEFTIST,
INDEPENDENT LA REPUBBLICA)

JCS

ACTION J5(3)

INFO SECDEF-N(1) CJCS(5) DJS:(1) ASD:PA(1) USDP:ISA(1)
USDP:DSAA(4) USDP:VP(1) USDP:TNF(1) USDP:DTSA(1)
NMIC(1) DIA(1)
+OCSA WASHINGTON DC
+USEUCOM AIDES VAHINGEN GE
+SAFE

- "EXTREME RIGHT TRIUMPHS IN EL SALVADOR" (FRONT
PAGE, IL GIORNALE)
- "FEAR REWARDS EXTREME RIGHT IN EL SALVADOR"
(FRONT PAGE, COMMUNIST PARTY ORGAN L'UNITA')

COMMENTS:

- "A NEW STRATEGY: CONSISTENCY AND FEWER DOLLARS"
-- ALBERTO PASOLINI ZANELLI COMMENTS IN AN EDITORIAL
IN LEADING CONSERVATIVE IL GIORNALE: "THE UNITED
STATES IS, PARADOXICALLY, AMONG THE PRINCIPLE LOSERS
OF THE SALVADORAN ELECTION, ALONG WITH THE CHRISTIAN
DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND THE MARXIST GUERRILLAS. THE
WEEKS, OR BETTER, THE MONTHS PRECEDING THE ELECTION
WERE IN FACT CHARACTERIZED BY A CONFUSED PERFORMANCE
BY WASHINGTON'S DIPLOMATS, WHO PLAYED A ROLE AS
AMBIGUOUS AS THAT PLAYED BY THE EL SALVADOR POLITICAL
GROUPS. ONE HAD THE IMPRESSION, AT TIMES, THAT

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SUBJECT: USIS ROME MEDIA REACTION REPORT

WASHINGTON'S INTERESTS WERE COINCIDING WITH THOSE OF
SALVADORAN TERRORISTS AND MARXIST GUERRILLAS. THAT
WAS NOT TRUE AND IS NOT TRUE, OF COURSE. BUT THE FACT
REMAINS THAT WHEN THE GUERRILLAS... AT ONE POINT
PROPOSED SUSPENDING THEIR THREATS AND THEIR VIOLENCE
IN EXCHANGE FOR A POSTPONEMENT OF THE ELECTION, THE
U.S. STATE DEPARTMENT WAS EVEN LESS FIRM THAN THE
SALVADORAN GOVERNMENT IN REJECTING THE
BLACKMAIL... GIVING THE IMPRESSION, AT TIMES, OF NOT
CONSIDERING IT INADMISSIBLE."

EDITORIAL CONCLUDES: "SALVADORAN
ANTI-COMMUNISTS... HAVE NOW DECIDED TO TRY THEIR OWN
STRATEGY RATHER THAN WASHINGTON'S, BY ELECTING A
PRESIDENT FROM THE ARENA PARTY. THAT DOES NOT MEAN
THAT THEY WILL SUCCEED. TO THE CONTRARY, IT IS ALMOST
CERTAIN THAT THEY WILL PAY, AS A MINIMUM, THE PRICE OF
REDUCED FINANCIAL SUPPORT BY THE U.S. IT IS ALMOST
CERTAIN THAT CONGRESS WILL CUT AID, BEGINNING WITH
MILITARY AID. THE ELECTION OF ALFREDO CRISTIANI SETS
OFF AN EXPERIMENT ON WHETHER MORE CONSISTENCY AND
FEWER DOLLARS CAN YIELD BETTER RESULTS THAN THOSE
ACHIEVED, IN TEN YEARS, WITH MANY DOLLARS AND LITTLE
CONSISTENCY."

MIMMO CANDITO REPORTS FROM EL SALVADOR IN CENTRIST
LA STAMPA: "A NEW PHASE IN THE CENTRAL AMERICAN
CRISIS OPENS WITH CRISTIANI'S VICTORY. THE UNITED
STATES, WHICH FOR A LONG TIME HAS OPPOSED THE ARENA
PARTY AND SUPPORTED DUARTE'S CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC
PARTY, WILL HAVE TO REVIEW ITS STRATEGY IN THE LIGHT
OF THE NEW POPULIST AND NATIONALISTIC TRENDS IN
CENTRAL AMERICA. SUCH TRENDS CANNOT YET BE DESCRIBED
AS ANTI-AMERICAN, BUT CERTAINLY ADD A NEW ELEMENT OF
RISK TO PLANS FOR A POLITICAL STABILIZATION...." IN
A SEPARATE REPORT, CANDITO WRITES: "CRISTIANI, BY
HARSHLY CRITICIZING THE CORRUPTION WHICH CHARACTERIZED
THE DUARTE GOVERNMENT, SUGGESTS A GOVERNMENT OF
TECHNOCRATS, SOMEHOW ACCEPTABLE TO THE UNITED STATES.
D'AUBUISSON WILL PROBABLY NOT BE PART OF THAT
GOVERNMENT, BUT HE REMAINS THE PRESIDENT OF THE ARENA
PARTY, ITS FOUNDER AND ITS MOST PRESTIGIOUS

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REPRESENTATIVE....."

- "THE EL SALVADOR PARADOX" -- AN EDITORIAL IN COMMUNIST PARTY ORGAN L'UNITA', BY SAVERIO TUTINO: "TEN YEARS AFTER LOSING THE BATTLE OVER NICARAGUA, THE

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SUBJECT: USIS ROME MEDIA REACTION REPORT

UNITED STATES RISKS LOSING THE ONE OVER EL SALVADOR AS WELL. THE FATE OF THE TWO COUNTRIES HAS DEPENDED IN THE LAST FEW YEARS ON JUST ONE POLICY, ALTERNATIVELY TRIED OUT BY WASHINGTON ON ONE OR THE OTHER IN ORDER TO TRY EMERGING FROM THE DEAD END OF THE 'BACKYARD' VIOLENCE....." EDITORIAL CONCLUDES: "THE PARADOX IS REPRESENTED BY THE FACT THAT, IN THE NEAR FUTURE, THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY, THE REBELS AND THE UNITED STATES MAY FIND THEMSELVES NEGOTIATING TOGETHER WITH THE PARTY WHICH ASSASSINATED ARCHBISHOP ROMERO. THE PROPOSALS FOR A DIALOGUE MADE BY THE ARENA PARTY DURING THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN COULD TURN INTO A CLEARER DIALOGUE WITH THE OPPOSITION THAN THAT CONDUCTED BY DUARTE, WHO WAS DEPENDENT UPON A REAGAN VISION BASED ON AN EVIL EMPIRE TO BE ATTACKED AT ITS FARTHEST FLUNG OUTPOST. ONCE AGAIN, EVERYTHING ESSENTIALLY DEPENDS ON WASHINGTON. ON BUSH, WHO, SO FAR, HAS ONLY TALKED ABOUT NEW INTENTIONS, BUT HAS ALSO FAILED TO INDICATE A NEW POLICY FOR CENTRAL AMERICA AND ALL OTHER HOT SPOTS IN THE THIRD WORLD."

- 2. 1980 USTICA AIR CRASH

- MEDIA CONTINUE SPECULATION ON THE ORIGIN OF THE MISSILE THOUGHT BY OFFICIAL INVESTIGATORS TO HAVE CAUSED THE USTICA ACCIDENT. ONE HYPOTHESIS PUT FORWARD IS THAT THE ITAVIA DC-9 WAS ERRONEOUSLY HIT BY FIGHTERS EITHER ATTACKING OR DEFENDING A PLANE CARRYING THEN-SECRETARY OF STATE MUSKIE, THEN REPORTEDLY TRAVELLING IN THE MEDITERRANEAN REGION).

- HEADLINES:

- "PLANE WITH U.S. VIP ALONG DC-9 ROUTE" (CORRIERE DELLA SERA)

- "USTICA: THERE WAS ANOTHER PLANE" (IL MESSAGGERO)

- "USTICA: WAS A VIP THE TARGET OF THE MISSILE?"

(COMMUNIST PARTY ORGAN L'UNITA')

- COMMENTS:

- "USTICA MASSACRE, STATE LIES" -- GIORGIO BOCCA'S EDITORIAL IN LEFTIST, INDEPENDENT LA REPUBBLICA: "THE SOLEMN PROMISES MADE BY ITALIAN OFFICIALS TO ASCERTAIN THE ORIGIN OF THE MISSILE, WHATEVER IT WAS, APPEAR RATHER MISGUIDED AND CONFUSED, SINCE THERE ARE ONLY THREE POSSIBLE SCENARIOS FOR THE USTICA ACCIDENT, NOW THAT WE HAVE ASCERTAINED THAT A MISSILE CAUSED IT:

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THE MISSILE WAS SHOT BY EITHER A LIBYAN, AN AMERICAN OR AN ITALIAN FIGHTER PLANE. IF THE FIRST HYPOTHESIS IS TRUE, THE TRUTH WAS HIDDEN SINCE IT DID NOT SEEM ADVISABLE TO ITALIAN GOVERNMENT LEADERS TO OPEN A MILITARY-DIPLOMATIC CONFLICT WITH LIBYA. IF THE SECOND HYPOTHESIS IS TRUE, WE GAVE IN TO OUR SUBORDINATE ROLE AS MILITARY ALLIES OF THE UNITED STATES. IF THE THIRD HYPOTHESIS IS TRUE, AND THE COURAGE WAS LACKING TO ADMIT THAT AN ITALIAN FIGHTER CAUSED THE DEATH OF 81 FELLOW CITIZENS, IT SEEMS UNLIKELY THAT EVIDENCE CAN NOW BE PROVIDED BY THE MILITARY AUTHORITIES, EVEN IF SUCH EVIDENCE STILL EXISTS."

- ANDREA PURGATORI WRITES IN LEADING CENTRIST CORRIERE DELLA SERA: "WAS IT PERHAPS AN 'AIR FORCE' JET OF THE PRESIDENTIAL FLEET WITH EDMUND MUSKIE ON BOARD? WAS THE PLANE ESCORTED BY FIGHTER PLANES? COULD THERE HAVE BEEN AN EFFORT BY AN INTRUDING FIGHTER TO INTERCEPT THEM?"

- ROME CENTRIST IL MESSAGGERO: "ON THE NIGHT OF JUNE 27, 1980, A PLANE WITH A HIGH-LEVEL GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL WAS IN THE AIR AT THE SAME TIME AS THE ITAVIA DC-9..... THE HYPOTHESIS THAT THE DC-9 FOUND ITSELF CAUGHT BY A POSSIBLE AGGRESSOR BECOMES MORE PLAUSIBLE..... LEWINSOHN BT

MAJ LAGASSEY

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COMFAIRMED NAPLES IT
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E.O. 12356: N/A
SUBJECT: USIS ROME MEDIA REACTION REPORT
MEDIA REACTION REPORT -- DECEMBER 5, 1988

A. LEAD STORIES: FAILED MILITARY REVOLT IN
ARGENTINE; THE SOVIET PLANE HIJACKING; THE OUTCOME OF
THE EC MEETING IN RHODES.

- TODAY'S REPORT WILL FOCUS ON THE FOLLOWING ITEMS:

- 1. REAGAN/BUSH/GORBACHEV MEETING IN NEW YORK
- 2. TRANSITION
- 3. MIDDLE EAST
- 4. GATT NEGOTIATIONS IN MONTREAL

B. TREATMENT

- 1. REAGAN/BUSH/GORBACHEV MEETING IN NEW YORK

- SCENESETTERS ON GORBACHEV'S VISIT TO NEW YORK
SUGGEST EXPECTATION FOR POSSIBLE NEW PROPOSALS OR
ANNOUNCEMENTS BY THE SOVIET LEADER, HIGHLIGHT THE

ACTION J5(3) (U,P,6,7)

INFO CJCS(5) DJS:(1) SJS(1) J3(4) NIDS(1) J7(6)
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DI-5B(1) NWS(1) DB-1B(1) DIA(1)
+OCSA WASHINGTON DC
+USEUCOM AIDES VAHINGEN GE
+NATS PTGON WASH DC
+CMC CC WASHINGTON DC
+SAFE

- HEADLINES:

- "THE BIG APPLE LOSES THE UN BUT CHEERS UP WITH GORBY" (CORRIERE DELLA SERA, SATURDAY)
- "WILL GORBY 'PRESENT' BUSH WITH THE BERLIN WALL?" (STAMPA SERA, MONDAY)
- "GORBY IN THE U.S. WITH HIS MIND ON LONDON" (IL SOLE-24 ORE, SUNDAY)
- "THE REASONS FOR GORBACHEV'S TOUR" (IL GIORNALE, MONDAY)
- "NEW YORK AWAITS 'GORBY GRIDLOCK'" (COMMUNIST PARTY ORGAN L'UNITA', MONDAY)

- COMMENTS:

- ENNIO CARETTO'S REPORT FROM NEW YORK IN CENTRIST STAMPA SERA MONDAY: "WARNED BY SOVIET SPOKESMAN GERASSIMOV THAT THE KREMLIN LEADER WILL 'MAKE NEW PROPOSALS', NOT ONLY DURING THE MEETING WITH REAGAN AND BUSH BUT ALSO DURING THE UNGA SPEECH, AMERICA IS WONDERING WHETHER GORBACHEV INTENDS TO INAUGURATE A GRANDIOSE PEACE AND DETENTE PLAN FOR THE 90'S. WHILE NOT EXCLUDING THAT GORBACHEV WILL MAINTAIN A HARD LINE

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TORREJON FOR PA MAJ. GILLETTE

E.O. 12356: N/A
SUBJECT: USIS ROME MEDIA REACTION REPORT

ON THE MOST SERIOUS REGIONAL CRISES -- AFGHANISTAN AND PALESTINE -- AND ON DISARMAMENT... THE WHITE HOUSE IS CERTAIN THAT HE WILL IMMEDIATELY TRY TO SET THE DATE FOR A SUMMIT WITH BUSH, PERHAPS IN MAY OR JUNE... SECRETARY SHULTZ WENT AS FAR AS SUGGESTING A SENSATIONAL 'DECEMBER SURPRISE,' I.E. AN ANNOUNCEMENT BY GORBACHEV THAT THE BERLIN WALL MAY COME DOWN SOON, OR THAT SOME... SOVIET TROOPS MAY BE WITHDRAWN FROM EASTERN EUROPE. EXPECTATIONS FOR THE FIFTH GORBACHEV-REAGAN SUMMIT AND GORBACHEV'S FIRST MEETING WITH BUSH ARE MADE EVEN GREATER BY THE PRESENT INTERNATIONAL SITUATION, BY THE IMPRESSION THAT THE KREMLIN LEADER IS LEADING HIS COUNTRY TOWARDS A NEW HISTORICAL REALITY, AND BY THE FACT THAT BUSH IS INCREASINGLY DISTANCING HIMSELF FROM REAGANISM....."

- MOSCOW CORRESPONDENT SERGIO ROSSI REPORTS IN LEADING ECONOMIC DAILY IL SOLE-24 ORE SUNDAY: "REGARDING THE MEETING WITH REAGAN AND BUSH, EVEN THE SOVIETS POINT OUT THAT IT WILL BE DIFFERENT FROM PREVIOUS 'OFFICIAL SUMMITS,' AND THAT INSTEAD, IT WILL BE A GOOD OPPORTUNITY TO CONTINUE THE CONSTRUCTIVE U.S.-USSR DIALOGUE ON PEACE AND NUCLEAR AND CONVENTIONAL DISARMAMENT... IT WILL BE THE FIRST TIME THAT A SOVIET LEADER SEES TWO U.S. PRESIDENTS SIMULTANEOUSLY DURING THE TRANSITION PHASE....."

- MOSCOW CORRESPONDENT UGO TRAMBALLI WRITES IN LEADING CONSERVATIVE IL GIORNALE MONDAY THAT "IT IS ON WALL STREET WHERE THE PROMOTION OF THE SOVIET NEW LOOK WILL HAVE TO COME UP WITH CONCRETE RESULTS. PERESTROJKA IS AN ENSEMBLE OF IMPORTANT CONCEPTS AND LEGAL REFORMS, BUT IT STILL LACKS THE PRACTICAL MEANS TO AFFIRM ITSELF: FINANCING IN HARD CURRENCY...

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BETWEEN THE UN SPEECH AND HIS MEETING WITH WALL STREET FINANCIERS, GORBACHEV WILL MEET A NOSTALGIC RONALD REAGAN...AND A GEORGE BUSH WHO WANTS TO TAKE HIS TIME BEFORE GETTING DOWN TO SERIOUS WORK....."

- "NATO SURPRISE FOR GORBY" -- THE MONDAY ISSUE OF ROME CENTRIST IL MESSAGGERO CARRIES A REPORT BY NEW YORK CORRESPONDENT ROBERTO PESENTI LEADING: "AMONG THE SURPRISES AWAITING GORBACHEV IS A NATO PLAN FOR A MAJOR REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES IN EUROPE... THE PLAN OF THE WESTERN ALLIES IS AN AMBITIOUS ONE, AND,

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SUBJECT: USIS ROME MEDIA REACTION REPORT

ACCORDING TO SOME, DIFFICULT TO REALIZE: ASKING GORBACHEV AND WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES TO CUT BY 60 PERCENT THE IMPRESSIVE ARRAY OF TANKS, ARTILLERY AND SOLDIERS BASED IN EUROPE. SECRETARY SHULTZ WILL INTRODUCE THE NATO REQUESTS TO HIS SOVIET COLLEAGUE SHEVARNADZE DURING THEIR MEETING ON WEDNESDAY AT GOVERNOR ISLAND....."

- 2. TRANSITION

- INSIDE-PAGE STORIES BY U.S.-BASED CORRESPONDENTS REPORT BRIEFLY ON MEETING BETWEEN PRESIDENT-ELECT BUSH AND DEFEATED DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE DUKAKIS. LEADING CONSERVATIVE IL GIORNALE NOTES THE APPOINTMENT OF ELIZABETH DOLE AS THE NEW U.S. REPRESENTATIVE TO THE UN IN AN ARTICLE ANALYZING PRESIDENT-ELECT BUSH'S POST-ELECTION STRATEGY: "SO FAR, BUSH HAS BEHAVED...AS A GENTLE, PATIENT MAN, A MAN WHO IS READY TO DO ANYTHING TO ELIMINATE PAST DIFFERENCES, TO OFFER HIS HAND TO EX-ENEMIES... HE HAS INSTEAD BEEN VERY FIRM ON THE PROGRAMMATIC, ECONOMIC AND FISCAL ASPECTS....."

- 3. MIDDLE EAST

- MEDIA ANNOUNCE THAT THE UNGA SESSION ON PALESTINE WILL BE HELD IN GENEVA DEC. 13-15. SOME MEDIA NOTE SECRETARY SHULTZ'S EXPRESSED HOPE THAT ARAFAT BE MORE EXPLICIT IN GENEVA REGARDING THE RECOGNITION OF ISRAEL. LEFTIST, INDEPENDENT LA REPUBBLICA SUNDAY AND A SPECIAL PROGRAM ON RAI'S LEFT-OF-CENTER CHANNEL TWO TELEVISION SUNDAY NIGHT EMPHASIZED THE ROLE OF THE U.S. JEWISH LOBBY (WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE "AIPAC") IN SHAPING THE U.S. MIDDLE EAST POLICY. LA REPUBBLICA'S HEADLINE: "TEL AVIV'S AMERICAN ARM -- POWER AND MYTHS OF U.S. JEWS."

- COMMENTS:

- LEAD EDITORIAL IN COMMUNIST PARTY ORGAN L'UNITA' SATURDAY ("THE UN AND ARAFAT AWAY FROM NEW YORK"): "WE ARE NOT ALONE IN OUR NEGATIVE ASSESSMENT OF THE U.S. DECISION TO REFUSE A VISA TO ARAFAT. WE ARE ENCOURAGED BY THE TOTAL ISOLATION IN WHICH THE U.S. AND ISRAEL FIND THEMSELVES AT THE PRESENT TIME, BY THE

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SUBJECT: USIS ROME MEDIA REACTION REPORT

OPINION OF INFLUENTIAL MORAL AUTHORITIES AS THE POPE AND ROME'S RABI TOAFF, BY THE UNANIMOUS STANCE TAKEN BY THE ITALIAN SENATE'S FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE AZND, IN PARTICULAR, BY THE REACTION IN LARGE SECTORS OF AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION....."

- CENTRIST STAMPA SERA MONDAY CARRIES INSIDE-PAGE REPORT FROM NEW YORK BY ENNIO CARETTO HEADLINED, "DON'T LET ARAFAT INTO THE U.S., OR ELSE WE WILL REVEAL EVERYTHING ON IRANGATE" -- "BLACKMAILING" ON THE PART OF ISRAEL HAS ALLEGEDLY HALTED GRANTING OF VISA TO ARAFAT AND THE PLO-USA RAPPROCHMENT." CARETTO REPORTS ON THE WASHINGTON POST REVELATIONS ABOUT ALLEGED "U.S.-PLO SECRET COOPERATION AGREEMENTS" AND THE RECENT "MYSTERIOUS PLANE CRASH KILLING OLIVER NORTH'S ISRAELI ALTER EGO, AMIRAM NIR."

- "A NEW MYSTERY ON IRANGATE," TITLES LEADING CONSERVATIVE IL GIORNALE SUNDAY REPORTING ON THE SAME AIR CRASH, DESCRIBING NIR AS "A CONSULTANT OF VICE PRESIDENT BUSH IN 1986 ON THE SALE OF WEAPONS TO IRAN IN EXCHANGE FOR U.S. HOSTAGES."

- 4. GATT NEGOTIATIONS

- SCENESETTERS ON THE MONTREAL GATT SESSION PREDICT "DIFFICULT" NEGOTIATIONS, ESPECIALLY ON THE AGRICULTURAL ISSUE, AND EMPHASIZE ITALIAN TRADE MINISTER RENATO RUGGIERO'S COMMENTS CALLING ON THE U.S. TO DO ITS PART TOWARDS REDUCING AGRICULTURAL SURPLUSES.

- HEADLINES:

- "U.S.-EEC AGRICULTURAL CHALLENGE, GATT STARTS OFF ON WRONG FOOT" (LEFTIST, INDEPENDENT LA REPUBBLICA SUNDAY)

- "A DETERMINED EUROPE AT THE GATT NEGOTIATIONS:

'LESS PROTECTIONISM IN THE U.S.'" (LA STAMPA, SATURDAY)

- "ITALIAN TRADE MINISTER CRITICIZES U.S. POSITIONS

ON THE EVE OF GATT MEETING" (IL SOLE-24 ORE, SATURDAY)

- "RUGGIERO: ITALY HAS DONE ITS PART, IT'S THE U.S.' TURN NOW" (IL TEMPO, SATURDAY)

- COMMENTS:

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- CENTRIST LA STAMPA SATURDAY: "A LOT OF THINGS NEED TO BE DISCUSSED, THE PROBLEMS ON THE FLOOR ARE COMPLICATED, BUT THERE ARE THOSE WHO HOPE THAT SOME

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MAJOR OBSTACLE MAY BE REMOVED. ITALIAN TRADE MINISTER RUGGIERO... IS NOT AT ALL INTIMIDATED BY THE WARNINGS OF THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION. THREATENING TO EVEN ABANDON THE NEGOTIATIONS IN THE ABSENCE OF CONCRETE PROGRESS, RUGGIERO ADDED, HOWEVER, THAT EUROPE IS GOING TO MONTREAL WITH THE REQUEST THAT ITS EFFORTS TO REDUCE AGRICULTURAL SURPLUSES BE ACKNOWLEDGED, BUT MOST OF ALL, ASKING THAT OTHERS, BEGINNING WITH THE U.S., DO THEIR PART. ACCORDING TO RUGGIERO, THE UNITED STATES DOES NOT PRACTICE WHAT IT PREACHES....."

C. OTHER ITEMS OF INTEREST

- USTICA AIR CRASH: MEDIA NOTE U.S. DEFENSE SECRETARY CARLUCCI'S DENIAL OF LIBYAN ALLEGATION ON AMERICAN RESPONSIBILITIES FOR THE 1980 USTICA AIR PLANE ACCIDENT AS WELL AS CARLUCCI'S OFFER FOR U.S. COOPERATION IN ITALIAN INVESTIGATIONS INTO THE CAUSES OF THE DISASTER.

- NATO: U.S. DEFENSE SECRETARY FRANK CARLUCCI'S DEC. 2 REMARKS AT NATO HEADQUARTERS IN BRUSSELS ARE NOTED IN REPORTS ON THE U.S.-EUROPEAN "DISPUTE" ON BURDENSARING WITHIN THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE. LEADING CONSERVATIVE IL GIORNALE'S HEADLINE SATURDAY: "NATO WILL REVIEW BURDENSARING." WHILE LEADING ECONOMIC DAILY IL SOLE-24 ORE SATURDAY TITLES, "CARLUCCI TO THE ALLIES: YOU ARE STINGY WITH NATO."

- U.S.-ITALY: MEDIA ANNOUNCE THAT ITALIAN PRIME MINISTER CIRIACO DE MITA WILL MEET PRESIDENT REAGAN AND PRESIDENT-ELECT BUSH DURING HIS MID-DECEMBER VISIT TO THE U.S. FOR THE CELEBRATION OF THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE MARSHALL PLAN. LEWINSOHN BT

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AMCONSUL GENOA
AMCONSUL NAPLES
40TACGP AVIANO AB IT//CC/IN/PA//
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16AF TORREJON AB SP//PA//

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AMEMBASSY VIENNA
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SUBJECT: USIS ROME MEDIA REACTION REPORT
MEDIA REACTION REPORT -- NOVEMBER 15, 1988

A. LEAD STORIES: THE RESOLUTIONS OF THE PALESTINE
NATIONAL COUNCIL MEETING IN ALGIERS; LIBYAN LEADER
QADHAFI'S REMARKS ON THE 1980 USTICA AIRPLANE
ACCIDENT; ALEXANDER DUBCEK'S SPEECH AT BOLOGNA
UNIVERSITY; PRESIDENT-ELECT BUSH AND THE U.S. ECONOMY.

- TODAY'S REPORT WILL FOCUS ON THE FOLLOWING ITEMS:

- 1. PRESIDENT-ELECT BUSH/U.S. ECONOMY
- 2. PNC MEETING IN ALGIERS
- 3. QADHAFI ON USTICA AIRPLANE DISASTER

- B. TREATMENT

- 1. PRESIDENT-ELECT BUSH/U.S. ECONOMY

- HEADLINES:

- "BUSH REASSURES MARKETS: 'REAGAN LINE WILL NOT

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CHANGE** (IL MESSAGGERO)

- "BUSH STATEMENTS SLOW DOWN MARKET DECLINE" (LEAD
STORY, IL SOLE-24 ORE)

- COMMENTS:

- LEADING ECONOMIC DAILY IL SOLE-24 ORE LEADS WITH
REPORT BY NEW YORK CORRESPONDENT MARIO PLATERO: "FROM
HIS VACATION SITE IN FLORIDA...GEORGE BUSH HAS
REASSURED INTERNATIONAL MARKETS, PROMISING A STABLE
DOLLAR AND COMMITTING HIMSELF TO DEALING WITH AND
RESOLVING PENDING ECONOMIC PROBLEMS FOLLOWING LAST
WEEK'S TURBULENCE. HIS WORDS, AS WELL AS THE
COORDINATED INTERVENTION BY CENTRAL BANKS, RESULTED IN
A SLIGHT RECOVERY OF THE U.S. CURRENCY AND SLOWED ITS
DOWNWARD TREND ON WALL STREET AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL
FINANCIAL MARKETS.....

- "BUSH ADMINISTRATION WILL BE MADE OF
'PROFESSIONALS'" -- CENTRIST LA STAMPA LEADS WITH AN
ANALYSIS BY ALDO RIZZO DATED LINED WASHINGTON. RIZZO
SPECULATES ON "THE KIND OF ADMINISTRATION WHICH WILL
GOVERN AMERICA AFTER JANUARY 20." WRITING THAT "ON A
GENERAL LEVEL, IT WILL BE A PRAGMATIC GOVERNMENT...
WE CAN ADD THAT IT WILL BE A GOVERNMENT OF

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PROFESSIONALS, IN THE BEST SENSE OF THE WORD. THAT
IS, NO IDEOLOGICAL VISIONS NOR EXCESSIVELY BINDING
PHILOSOPHIES ABOUT AMERICA AND THE WORLD, BUT
PRACTICAL ATTEMPTS TO RESOLVE, POSSIBLY ONE AT A TIME,
THE MANY REAL PROBLEMS IN THEIR REAL ASPECTS....."

- RIZZO CONTINUES: "BUSH IS A A MODERATE
CONSERVATIVE WHO WILL CONTINUE SOMEWHAT IN REAGAN'S
FOOTSTEPS. IN HIS CONCRETE APPROACH, HOWEVER, BUSH
WILL BE A DIFFERENT PRESIDENT THAN HIS PREDECESSOR AND
MENTOR. WHILE REAGAN NEVER SUCCEEDED IN ESTABLISHING
A DIALOGUE WITH CONGRESS, EVEN WHEN HE NEEDED IT, AND
LIMITED HIMSELF TO BLANDISHING IT WITH CHARISMA, BUSH,
AIDED BY BAKER, WILL DO THE IMPOSSIBLE TO SUCCEED IN
THIS ENDEAVOR. HE HAS NO CHOICE, OF COURSE, BUT HE
WILL TRY TO CONVINCE A DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS THAT HE
WANTS A REAL DIALOGUE, WITH CONCESSIONS BY BOTH
SIDES..... CONGRESS SEEMS WILLING TO GRANT THE NEW
PRESIDENT THE FAMOUS 'HONEYMOON' (FROM THREE TO SIX
MONTHS). DURING THAT TIME, HOWEVER, BUSH WILL HAVE TO
PROVIDE SOME CONCRETE EVIDENCE, OR AT LEAST LAUNCH
ENCOURAGING SIGNALS. IN ORDER TO DO SO, HE WILL HAVE
TO DISTANCE HIMSELF FROM THE REPUBLICAN RIGHT, PERHAPS
MORE SO THAN HE HAD ORIGINALLY PLANNED. THUS HE WILL
BE CAUGHT BETWEEN TWO FIRES, WHICH IS PERHAPS THE MAIN
PROBLEM FOR THE PROFESSIONAL WHO HAS REACHED THE WHITE
HOUSE."

- 2. PNC MEETING IN ALGIERS

- ALL ITALIAN MEDIA LEAD WITH REPORTS EMPHASIZING
THE PNC'S DECLARATION OF AN INDEPENDENT PALESTINIAN
STATE IN THE ISRAELI-OCCUPIED TERRITORIES AND ITS
ENDORSEMENT OF UN RESOLUTION 242, WHICH IMPLICITLY
RECOGNIZES ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO EXIST WITHIN SECURE

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BORDERS.

- HEADLINES (FRONT PAGES, LEAD STORIES):
 - "PALESTINE, AN HISTORICAL NIGHT. INDEPENDENT STATE IS BORN" (CORRIERE DELLA SERA)
 - "ARAFAT STATE IS BORN" (LEFTIST, INDEPENDENT LA REPUBBLICA)
 - "ARAFAT ACCEPTS ISRAEL" (LA STAMPA)
 - "STATE WITHOUT TERRITORY IS BORN" (IL GIORNALE)

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SUBJECT: USIS ROME MEDIA REACTION REPORT

- "PALESTINIAN STATE IS BORN. EVEN REAGAN IS OPTIMISTIC" (COMMUNIST PARTY ORGAN L'UNITA')
- "DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE" (RADICAL LEFT IL MANIFESTO)

COMMENTS:

- REPORT FROM ALGIERS IN LEFTIST, INDEPENDENT LA REPUBBLICA: "THE PALESTINIAN STATE IS BORN. THE PLO AND HIS PARLIAMENT SOLEMNLY DECLARED INDEPENDENCE AND ACKNOWLEDGE THE EXISTENCE OF ISRAEL. THE JEWISH STATE REMAINS AN ENEMY, BUT FOR THE FIRST TIME IN FORTY YEARS IT NO LONGER IS A NATION TO BE ELIMINATED..... THIS IS AN HISTORICAL TURNING POINT....."

- LEADING CENTRIST CORRIERE DELLA SERA (LEAD STORY): "AN IMPORTANT PAGE OF HISTORY HAS BEEN WRITTEN IN ALGIERS LAST NIGHT. OUR CHILDREN WILL READ ABOUT IT IN HISTORY BOOKS. AN INDEPENDENT PALESTINIAN STATE IS BORN..... ARAFAT WON BIG: THERE WAS NO UNANIMITY BUT THE MAJORITY WAS STRONGER THAN ONE WOULD THINK. THERE WAS A UNANIMOUS AGREEMENT ON THE DECLARATION OF AN INDEPENDENT STATE. THERE WAS FULL AGREEMENT ON ALMOST ALL POINTS OF THE POLITICAL DOCUMENT, EXCEPT FOR THE PARAGRAPH...REGARDING THE RECOGNITION OF ISRAEL. FOR THE FIRST TIME THE PALESTINIANS HAVE ACCEPTED THE IDEA OF COEXISTENCE, IN THEIR OWN STATE -- WHICH FOR NOW IS A GHOST LAND -- WITH THE JEWISH STATE....." REPORT CONCLUDES: "THE OBJECTIVE OF ARAFAT AND HIS FELLOW LEADERS IS NOW VERY CLEAR. THE PLO MODERATE MESSAGE IS AIMED TO FOREIGN AUDIENCES MORE THAN TO ISRAEL: TO THE UNITED STATES, THE SOVIET UNION, EUROPE. IT IS A MESSAGE OF HOPE, BUT NOW THE DIFFICULT PART BEGINS....."

3. QADHAFI ON USTICA AIRPLANE DISASTER

- THE ALLEGATION MADE YESTERDAY BY LIBYAN LEADER QADHAFI THAT THE 1980 USTICA DC-9 DISASTER WAS CAUSED BY A "U.S. MISSILE" RECEIVES TOP ATTENTION IN REPORTS ON QADHAFI'S MEETING IN TRIPOLI WITH THE PRESIDENT OF THE SICILIAN REGION, RINO NICOLOSI. NICOLOSI WAS LEADING AN ITALIAN DELEGATION TO OBTAIN THE RELEASE OF 11 ITALIAN FISHERMEN PREVIOUSLY SEIZED BY THE LYBIANS AND CONDEMNED TO HARD LABOR.

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HEADLINES (FRONT PAGES):

- "DC-9: QADHAFI ACCUSES AMERICA" (CORRIERE DELLA SERA)
- "'IT WAS A U.S. MISSILE,' SAYS QADHAFI" (LEFTIST, INDEPENDENT LA REPUBBLICA)
- "QADHAFI ANNOUNCES HIS OWN TRUTH: 'IT WAS A U.S. MISSILE'" (IL MESSAGGERO)
- "QADHAFI ACCUSES: U.S. MISSILE CAUSED THE USTICA DISASTER" (COMMUNIST PARTY ORGAN L'UNITA')

COMMENTS:

- CENTRIST LA STAMPA, IN AN ARTICLE DATED ROME, SAYS THAT "ACCORDING TO RUMORS CIRCULATING AMONG THE ITALIAN DELEGATION ON A MISSION TO TRIPOLI, COLONEL QADHAFI SAID HE HAS GOT THE EVIDENCE OF THE AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT (IN THE USTICA AIRPLANE DISASTER)...QADHAFI, THROUGH RINO NICOLOSI (THE PRESIDENT OF THE SICILIAN REGION), OFFERED TO COOPERATE WITH THE ITALIANS IN THE INVESTIGATIONS."

- ROME CENTRIST IL MESSAGGERO: "QADHAFI'S GOAL WAS MAINLY TO DENY ANY RESPONSIBILITIES BY LIBYA IN THE 1980 DC-9 DISASTER... HE SAID HE IS READY TO SUPPLY THE EVIDENCE THAT TRIPOLI WAS NOT INVOLVED, BUT HE DID NOT PRESENT THAT EVIDENCE....."

- LEADING CONSERVATIVE IL GIORNALE CARRIES A REPORT DATED ROME HEADLINED "U.S. AIRCRAFT CARRIER MAY KNOW THE TRUTH ABOUT USTICA." REPORT BY MARCO VENTURA LEADS: "IS THE TRUTH ABOUT USTICA RECORDED ON A U.S. TAPE? MAYBE A SIXTH FLEET RADAR RECORDED THE MANEUVER OF THE FIGHTER PLANE WHICH SHOT DOWN THE DC-9 IN JUNE 1980... PERHAPS THE 'SARATOGA' AIRCRAFT CARRIER, IN THE NAPLES AREA, IS THE ONE WHICH SAW AND RECORDED THE ACCIDENT... USING ITS RADAR SYSTEM IS ALL IT WOULD HAVE TAKEN... AND ALL ITALIAN OFFICIALS WOULD HAVE HAD TO DO TO FIND THE TRUTH WAS ASK... BUT THE ITALIAN GOVERNMENT NEVER DREAMED OF DOING IT. THIS IS THE THESIS OF THE U.S. MILITARY COMMAND IN EUROPE, HEADQUARTERED IN LONDON. AT THE CONCLUSION OF A TORTUOUS MERRY-GO-ROUND OF TELEPHONE CALLS BETWEEN NAPLES, BAGNOLI, ROME AND LONDON, HERE'S THE AMERICAN

UNCLAS SECTION 05 OF 05 ROME 25720

"PERISHABLE INFORMATION -- DO NOT SERVICE"
USINFO FOR P/PRC, P/FW, P/FN, VOA NEWS/CA, EU,
P/ROMERSTEIN
JCS FOR J-5 MAJ. LAGASSEY
STATE FOR EUR/WE, EUR/RPM, INR, PA
GENEVA PLEASE PASS TO NST-TERRY SHROEDER
VIENNA FOR USDEL-CSCE WILLIAMS
NAVSUPACT FOR PAO
TORREJON FOR PA MAJ. GILLETTE

E.O. 12356: N/A
SUBJECT: USIS ROME MEDIA REACTION REPORT

VERSION: AT THE TIME OF THE DISASTER, NO U.S. PLANE OR SHIP WERE OPERATING IN THE TYRRHENIAN SEA.....

C. OTHER ITEMS OF INTEREST

UNCLASSIFIED

OJCS INFORMATION
SERVICE CENTER

U.S.-USSR RELATIONS: RADIO NEWSCASTS THIS MORNING AND A COUPLE OF LEADING NEWSPAPERS ANNOUNCE THAT SOVIET LEADER GORBACHEV WILL GO TO NEW YORK EARLY DECEMBER FOR THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY MEETING AND THAT HE WILL USE THE OCCASION FOR A FINAL "SUMMIT" WITH PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN AND A MEETING WITH PRESIDENT-ELECT GEORGE BUSH. LEFTIST, INDEPENDENT LA REPUBBLICA CITES "U.S. OFFICIAL SOURCES," WHILE ROME CENTRIST IL MESSAGGERO SAYS "THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THIS SURPRISE SUMMIT WAS GIVEN LAST NIGHT BY CBS NEWS, WHICH CITED WHITE HOUSE AND STATE DEPARTMENT SOURCES." LEWINSOHN BT

MEMORANDUM FOR OSD (PA) (LCDR SUNDIN)

SUBJECT: Assistance to the Italian Embassy on the Ustica Investigation

On 27 December 1988, the Italian Ambassador, Rinaldo Petrignani, presented Mr. Taft with an aide memoire requesting specific informationn pertaining to the June 1980 downing of an Italian civilian airliner (TAB A).

The Vice Director, Joint Staff provided the Deputy Secretary of Defense with information on 10 January 1989 (TAB B), which was used to provide a response to the ambassador (TAB C).

Since that time, further allegations of US responsibility have been made by the Italian press (TAB D). Partially due to these new allegations, Prime Minister De Mita has granted a two month extension to the government commission investigating the crash.

On 1 March 1989, the Italian Embassy here in Washington contacted my Country Director for Italy, Mr. Lazarus, and asked, [REDACTED] if DoD could offer another statement to help put the new allegations to rest. Although not wanting to get into a reactive mode with the Italian press, the Embassy representatives stated that if we could develop a statement centering around the allegations they could give it to the investigating committee and put the matter to rest (hopefully!) once and for all.

I would like to request your help in getting a release drafted, cleared and released. Based on comments made by the Embassy representatives and the article itself, I believe a release along the lines of the following (assuming that it is factual) would be beneficial:

"On January 24, 1989, the Deputy Secretary of Defense informed the Italian authorities that the United States did not have ships or aircraft operating in the Tyrrhenian Sea at the time of the DC-9 crash on June 27, 1980.

Since the time of the communique the Italian publication "L'Espresso" has reported further allegations of US responsibility. Although we do not make a practice of responding to press articles per se, we believe that the US-Italian military-to-military relationship is too important to jeopardize by any misunderstanding.

Mr. Lazarus
OASD/ISP (Eur Pol)
Lz:5:31

It has been alleged that on June 28, 1980 the Sixth Fleet was in the highest state of alert, because Air Force One, carrying then-President Carter, was flying in the Mediterranean Region. In fact, the Sixth Fleet was not on an alert status and President Carter was not flying in the Mediterranean Region. Since no AWACS aircraft "picked up" any fighters supposedly violating Italian airspace, obviously no communications were passed to the Italian Air Force Southern Air Region Operations Center at Martinafranca. No F-14's were launched from the Carrier Saratoga on June 28 as it was at anchor (in port?) at Naples and thus the reported encounter between F-14s and Libyan MIG-23's obviously did not take place. We note that the prosecuting attorney of Crotona, in Calabria has concluded positively that there is no connection between the Ustica disaster and the crash of a Libyan MIG in the mountains of Calabria.

We are hopeful that the factual information contained in this release is helpful to the Italian authorities charged with investigating the Ustica air crash tragedy."

...with 14 up-
...we could have done
...caused by that accident."
...while I would never say it was a blessing, at least
...a little bit of positive to come out of it."
Dunn said his priorities are to urge Congress to approve
manpower increases needed to fill the aviation communities
as the fleet grows in size; to appropriate money for replace-
ment aircraft carriers and to accept the Navy's aircraft acqui-
sition program. In the meantime, he wants to become a
"strong and vocal advocate for naval aviation."
"I find that people both in and outside the Navy really
don't appreciate what naval aviation is and what it's for."
While naval aviation is not an end unto itself, Dunn said,
"If you set aside for a moment the fleet of ballistic missile
submarines, the rest of the Navy is built around naval avia-
tion... Aviation can do those things that seapower can do
only do them better... I'd like to spread that gospel."

U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT
15 JUNE 87 (9) Pg. 14

Watergate figures did it. Now some players in the Iran-Contra scandal are taking their newfound name recognition and hitting the lecture circuit. The most active so far: Richard Secord, who helped run the clandestine Contra resupply operation. An obscure ex-general only a few months ago, Secord—who bemoaned his financial problems during testimony on nationwide television—has signed up with the Harry Walker agency. He will charge \$15,000 a speech and already has a dozen lined up. Another figure in the controversy, Michael Ledeen, the White House con-

WASHINGTON POST
7 JUNE 1987 (9) Pg. 26

■ French salvagers have found the cockpit recorder of an Italian jetliner that mysteriously exploded and crashed into the Tyrrhenian Sea in 1980, killing all 81 people aboard, the Italian news agency ANSA reported Friday.

sultant who acted as a middleman on the hostage negotiations, gets up to \$10,000 a speech and lecture-agency sources say requests for his time picked up significantly after he hit the newspaper headlines.

...sophisticated ac...
Warsaw Pact's Western allies...
more combat missions because they can refuel, rearm and be repaired faster. They also operate under worse weather conditions, allowing them to provide the air superiority that would be essential for defeating the Warsaw Pact on the ground.

NATO has some genuine disadvantages as well. Allied aircraft could be shot down in droves by their own side because NATO has yet to deploy a reliable means of enabling its air defense forces to identify friendly planes. On the ground, NATO defenses could be crippled by shortages of ammunition, reinforcement problems and rear area attack by Soviet special forces. And the Soviets' new "reactive" armor, which can detonate an incoming antitank missile prematurely, could make many NATO antitank weapons obsolete. But perhaps a greater shortcoming, say some defense experts, is the Western military's tendency to promote the appearance of irremediable NATO inferiority. That perception can send dangerous signals to the East while undermining the West's will to defend itself. "INF reductions need not reduce our security, but doomsday talk about it could," warns a top alliance analyst. With Europe's nuclear missiles due for a drastic cutback, NATO defense planners will have to move from counting their beans to watching their words.
—By Christopher Redman.
Reported by Bruce van Voorst/Washington, with other bureaus

Italians Debating Cause of 1980 Crash

AIRLINER, From A29

NATO fighters as they intruded into Italian airspace. There has been no suggestion of any U.S. planes being involved.

The truth remains shrouded in Italian government secrecy, critical missing radar recordings of the DC9's final minutes in the air, six years of government reluctance to recover the wreckage for inspection and the mystery of a Libyan MiG21 and its dead pilot found on a mountainside in nearby Calabria three weeks after the DC9 crash.

What has brought the issue back to public attention was the insistence of seven respected Italian intellectuals from almost every major political party who petitioned President Cossiga, whose office traditionally is above politics, to intercede with the government to resolve the mystery.

Cossiga, a Christian Democrat who was prime minister at the time of the crash, acceded to the demand of the seven "wise men," as the petitioners quickly became known, and asked the government of Prime Minister Bettino Craxi to reopen the inquiry. Craxi's initial response was the release of the Cabinet report that reinforced the suspicion that the airliner was shot down by a missile.

Early this month Craxi's government informed parliament that it planned to go further, first seeking the aid of a U.S. Navy research submarine in photographing the plane's wreckage, which still lies under about 10,500 feet of water. Then, if the photographs prove interesting, the government told parliament, it was prepared to spend \$3 million to \$4 million for a French salvage company to raise the wreckage.

But in a new letter to the government earlier this month, the seven "wise men" said there were still mysteries to be resolved above water, within the government itself.

Chief among the questions the critics want answered is why the Italian air defense radar station at Licola, near Marsala, failed to record the flight information of the four minutes before the DC9 exploded and the four minutes immediately afterward.

The official explanation given to the initial government inquiry was that the radar station was involved in unspecified exercises and that it unfortunately erased the key eight minutes on the routine radar tracking tape of the flight. Investigators were stymied by Italian military secrecy laws when they sought to clarify this mystery.

The issue is important because the DC9's flight was also monitored on normal air traffic radar at Rome's Ciampino Airport, where controllers saw the DC9 disappear from their screens. When Ciampino called Licola to give the alert it was told that Licola already knew about the accident and had sent air rescue squads to the site.

The critics of the previous investigation want to know how personnel at the Air Force radar station at Licola could claim not to have followed the Itavia flight if they knew of the aircraft's disappearance when Ciampino telephoned them.

A further question that the "wise men" want answered is whether NATO exercises were under way at the time in the area. The Licola station's explanation for the erasure of the flight's key eight minutes implied that some kind of maneuvers were under way at the time, but the Italian government has re-

peatedly denied that such maneuvers were taking place.

No one, however, denies that the French aircraft carrier Clemenceau was in the vicinity, although French officials have denied that its planes might have shot down the DC9 by accident. There have been allegations that the French carrier had Super Etendard fighter-bombers in the air on firing exercises against a drone target that might have crossed the path of the DC9, which was two hours behind schedule.

The other still lingering mystery about that June day in 1980 has to do with the possibility that a flight of Libyan jets might have been in the area.

This theory hinges on the discovery July 18, less than three weeks after the DC9 crash, of the wreckage of a Libyan MiG21 and the body of its pilot on Mount Sila in nearby Calabria, east of Sicily.

An initial autopsy indicated the pilot had been burned to death in the crash and had died weeks before the wreckage was discovered. But a military investigation, overruling the initial report, concluded that the pilot had died of a heart attack on the day his plane was found.

The pilot's body was immediately shipped to Libya and the wreckage of the plane was impounded by the Italian military, which said that it had crashed after it ran out of fuel.

Last month's Cabinet report, however, sought to still all allegations that the crashed MiG might have been part of a Libyan flight that was intercepted by NATO planes on June 27, perhaps firing a heat-seeking missile that accidentally struck the DC9.

The Cabinet report said, without giving details, that "there are eyewitnesses who saw the MiG crash [on Mount Sila] July 18." But the Cabinet report also confirmed evidence from a 1983 analysis of the Ciampino air control tapes that an unidentified object, most probably either a supersonic fighter or a drone, had crossed the path of the Itavia DC9 shortly before it exploded.

Burmese Revolt Seen as Spontaneous

By ROBERT PEAR

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 9 — Experts on Burma portray the upheaval there as a spontaneous revolution by people craving democracy, and they say the only mystery is why it took the Burmese so long to rise up against an oppressive, authoritarian Government.

Prof. Josef Silverstein at Rutgers University, one of the few Burma scholars in the United States, said: "This is one of the few examples of a pure popular revolution that we are seeing anywhere in the world. There are no leaders, there is no organization and there is no international movement outside the country pushing the people one way or the other."

"What surprised me is that the Burmese Government, has held on for so long, that this upheaval did not come at an earlier point," said Mr. Silverstein, a political scientist.

U.S. Evacuates Dependents

American experts assessed the situation there as the United States today evacuated 46 relatives of American Embassy employees in the midst of growing instability. They flew from Rangoon, the capital, to Bangkok, Thailand, on a commercial airliner. State Department officials said that another group of about the same size would leave Burma on Saturday. Before the evacuation, there were about 150 American embassy personnel and dependents in Burma.

Charles E. Redman, the State Department spokesman, said, "I'm not sure that there are any ministries functioning these days" in Rangoon. Nevertheless, he said, the American Embassy will continue to operate so it can send information to Washington.

Demonstrators in cities and towns across Burma, including many students, are demanding the immediate resignation of the president, U Maung Maung, and the establishment of an interim government to pave the way for multiparty democracy. Mr. Maung Maung is the leader of the country's only political party, the Burma Socialist Program Party, which seized power in a military coup and has ruled for 26 years.

John H. Badgley, curator of the Southeast Asia collection at the Cornell University library, said Mr. Maung Maung would be lucky to retain power for another week.

"The Government is basically defunct," Mr. Badgley said. "There is a genuine collapse of government as we know it." In Mandalay, he said, a committee of students and monks under 30 years old is maintaining order and performing other functions of government.

Many people, including employees of Burmese embassies in Singapore, Japan and other countries, have resigned from the Socialist Program Party. Information reaching the State Department here indicates that scores of Burmese Government employees and at least several hundred members of the Burmese armed forces joined anti-Government demonstrations in Rangoon this week.

Mr. Badgley visited Burma last December and again in January and February of this year. "I got a sense of a very short fuse on a stick of dynamite, and I was surprised that it had

American experts say the upheaval seems long overdue.

not exploded long ago," Mr. Badgley said in an interview.

U Ne Win, who ruled Burma from 1962 until his resignation in July of this year, led the country into isolation and economic ruin by following what he described as "the Burmese road to socialism." Mr. Badgley said this was "an autarkic ideology patterned after the economic systems of Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland."

Stalin's 'Ideological Framework'

It became clear as early as 1963 that Mr. Ne Win did not want to bring Burma into the mainstream of the international economy through trade and development projects with other countries, Mr. Badgley said. For the last quarter-century, he said, "Burma's leaders have been anti-Communist, but they viewed the economy with the ideological framework of Stalin."

American experts on Burma said they believed some type of provisional government would soon emerge, probably with political and financial backing from Japan.

"Key Japanese officials want to stabilize the situation in Burma, hope Burma will open its markets to foreign investment and have indicated a preference that U Tin Oo should emerge as the leader of Burma," Mr. Badgley said. "In foreign policy, this may be the most aggressive political maneuver Japan has engaged in since World War II." Mr. Tin Oo was chief of staff of the Burmese Army when he was removed by Mr. Ne Win in 1976.

Several Burmese opposition leaders said today that they had established a provisional government under the leadership of U Nu, who was ousted in the military coup 26 years ago, but diplomats in Rangoon said it was not immediately clear whether the maneuver would succeed.

Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan said today that President Reagan should take immediate action to withhold American aid from the Government of Mr. Maung Maung.

"At such time as a democratic gov-

ernment is established, we should release the monies and offer increased support as well," said Mr. Moynihan, a New York Democrat.

The United States gave Burma almost \$14.3 million in aid last year: \$7 million for economic development, \$7 million for anti-drug programs and \$260,000 for military training.

Moynihan Urges Aid Cutoff

Mr. Moynihan said the United States should not provide any more money to the Burmese Army because it had "murdered peaceful demonstrators." He also said the Burmese armed forces "use our assistance" to spray carcinogenic herbicides on members of ethnic minority groups in opium-growing areas of northern Burma.

Diplomats at the Burmese Embassy here did not return telephone calls asking for comment on Mr. Moynihan's charges.

Discontent has been spreading in Burma for years. But Mr. Silverstein said the situation became intolerable for the Burmese people last September, when the Government took currency measures that had the effect of reducing the value of assets that many people held in cash by 70 to 80 percent.

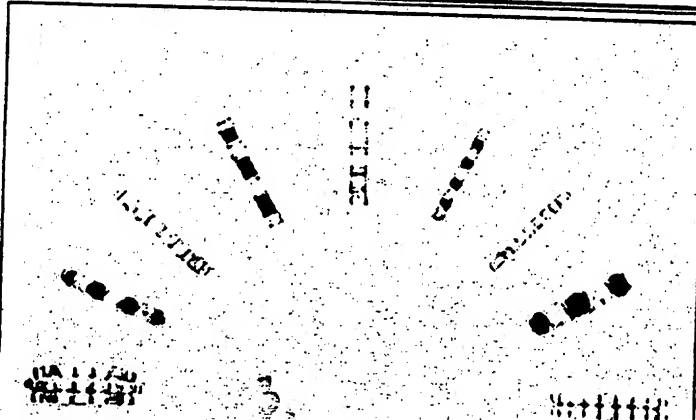
The Government said the step was designed to curb narcotics traffic and the black market in Burma. But it set off protests by students, who have been in the forefront of political activity since they fought for Burma's independence from Britain in the late 1940's.

Experts Said to Find Missile Downed Italian Jet in 1980

ROME, Sept. 9 (Reuters) — Experts examining the wreckage of an Italian jet that crashed into the sea in 1980, killing all 81 people on board, have concluded it was probably hit by a missile, Italian news reports said today.

The DC-9 of the now defunct domestic company Itavia crashed into the sea near Sicily on June 27, 1980 after an explosion.

The most common hypothesis, supported by several officials and experts, is that an American fighter plane from the Mediterranean-based Sixth Fleet or an Italian jet scrambled to intercept a Libyan MIG-23 in the area and accidentally shot down the DC-9 after launching a heat-seeking missile.



DOE cites need for linear accelerators

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

The Department of Energy should pursue the possibility of building a linear accelerator to produce tritium for nuclear weapons as a prudent backup to present plans to build new production reactors, a DOE report said yesterday.

Scientists at the Los Alamos, N.M., and Brookhaven, N.Y., national laboratories said they found the department's decision to build new reactors at the Savannah River complex in South Carolina and at the Idaho National Engineering Laboratory in Idaho Falls the "lowest technical risk approach to supplying the critical need for tritium."

"However, we believe it is prudent that DOE pursue other technologies for tritium production to provide potential alternatives as a contingency for the future," the report said. "One concept that appears to be particu-

larly promising is the accelerator production of tritium."

The report said an accelerator could be completed within eight to nine years on an "aggressive" schedule, compared with a minimum of 10 years to finish a new production reactor.

The cost of an accelerator would be comparable to a new reactor at \$2.3 billion, including \$600 million for contingencies.

An accelerator could be built at any of the department's weapons production sites, but the report said the Hanford nuclear reservation in south-central Washington state "offers the potential advantage of low-cost available power and the grid capacity to power an accelerator facility."

The accelerator would require roughly 770 megawatts of electricity to operate.

An accelerator is essentially a long tunnel in which subatomic particles are whipped at high speed until they crash into a target, in this case lithium clad in aluminum. The resulting collision produces tritium — a critical element in nuclear weapons that increases the power of warheads, but decays rapidly.

The current supply of tritium is threatened by the crumbling conditions at the Energy Department's existing production reactors and weapons plants.

While department officials have said that accelerator technology was too "immature" to be trusted, the scientists said their concept "builds on relatively mature, existing technologies."

The report said that in recent years there have been "major advances" in accelerator technology, in part prompted by the \$500 million

spent through the Strategic Defense Initiative, or "star wars" program.

"Our assessments indicate that neither scientific 'proof-in-principle' demonstrations nor basic research programs are required before proceeding," the report said.

The report recommended a "development and demonstration" phase for an accelerator that would take three to four years and then a five-year construction program.

An accelerator would be safer than a reactor because there would be an "absence of fissionable materials, there are no criticality issues, minimal decay heat safety concerns, no nuclear licensing requirements and a much smaller amount of radioactive waste," the report said.

In addition, it said the "extensive time" it would take to prepare a safety analysis, environmental impact statement and license a new reactor "would be greatly reduced for the accelerator approach."

EUROPEAN MEDIA

ITALY/DEFENSE BUDGET: Italy's 10-year \$22 billion plan to modernize weapons will be cut by at least half with the remaining funds going to the European Fighter Aircraft, observation and telecommunication satellites, new generation helicopters and anti-aircraft missile systems, said Valerio Zanone. A 17 March

article in the Italian paper *Il Messaggero* also quoted the defense minister as saying the funding cut signals a significant restructuring of military spending. *Il Messaggero* said Zanone declined to give more details on the spending cuts.

WEU/NEW SECRETARY GENERAL: Former Dutch Def/Min Willem Van Eekelen will be appointed as the new Secretary General of the Western European Union

(WEU) in April, succeeding Alfred Cahen of Belgium, reported *Jane's Defence Weekly*. An 18 March magazine article said that Van Eekelen will be officially confirmed after a meeting of WEU defense ministers in London on 3 and 4 April.

(Summarized from transcripts and translations provided by SHAPE Public Information Office. Source material available from CNARS, 4C881)

WALL STREET JOURNAL 21 MARCH 89 Pg.B8

Shell-Army Pact On Cleanup Is Put In Doubt by Ruling

By AMY DOCKSER

STAFF REPORT OF THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
A little-noticed ruling by a federal judge in Colorado has created doubts about whether a proposed settlement of a waste-cleanup dispute between Shell Oil Co. and the U.S. Army will get court approval.

If the agreement is not approved, Shell, a unit of Royal Dutch/Shell Group, may have to pay even more than it was already expected to spend—as much as \$1 billion, Shell's share of the cleanup costs at a former plant leased from the Army on a site near Denver.

U.S. District Judge Jim Carrigan of Denver indicated in his ruling on Feb. 24 that he believed government lawyers had a conflict of interest when they represented both the Army and the Environmental Protection Agency in the matter. And he said the conflict so far had prevented him from approving the proposed settlement between the Army and Shell over who should pay the cleanup costs.

The judge's comments regarding the

settlement came in a separate case in which the State of Colorado alleges that the Army cleanup of a hazardous waste disposal pond hasn't been sufficiently thorough and isn't moving quickly enough. The state seeks to impose its own environmental regulations on the process.

In his decision, Judge Carrigan denied the Army's request to dismiss that suit, ruling Colorado served as an independent check on the Army's efforts. He said the EPA couldn't perform that function because the same Justice lawyers repre-

sented both the Army and EPA. The judge said the EPA's goal was to clean the site quickly and thoroughly, while it was in the Army's financial interest to spend as little money and effort as possible.

In its motion for reconsideration, filed two weeks ago, Justice lawyers argued that they are not held to the same conflict-of-interest standard as private attorneys.

David Anderson, lead counsel for the U.S., said no conflict existed and that both EPA and the Army were committed to cleaning up the arsenal. A lawyer for Shell also said the company didn't believe there was a conflict.

Mr. Anderson said a week before Judge Carrigan's ruling, the Army entered into private settlement agreement with Shell. The agreement, which Mr. Anderson said contained the same provisions as the earlier settlement, would not require Judge Carrigan's approval.

Shell made its first payment of \$20 million last Friday under the terms of the private agreement, Mr. Anderson said. But the Colorado suit could prevent that agreement from being the final word.

"We're not trying to circumvent Judge Carrigan or his authority with the private agreement," said Mr. Anderson.

LONDON FINANCIAL TIMES

20 MARCH 1989

Pg. 2

Italy orders air crash inquiry

By John Wyles in Rome

THE Italian air force has been ordered to set up an internal inquiry, following presentation of the first authoritative report to confirm years of speculation that a missile was responsible for the loss of the Itavia DC9 which went into the sea north of Sicily in June 1980.

"The accident to the DC9 was caused by a missile explosion near the front part of the airplane," was the conclusion

of a team of experts who nearly five years ago were given the task of explaining the disaster.

Since few air disasters have been investigated to so little effect as the so-called Ustica tragedy, in which 81 lives were lost, an authoritative conclusion may help break through the wall of evasion, missing evidence and political irresolution surrounding it.

Both scientific evidence and

the recording of the flight crews' conversation supported the missile explanation, says the report. The final word spoken in the cockpit before the external explosion was "guar..." which suggests one of the crew was about to say "guardi" or "look" to his colleague. Two seconds later there was what "seems to have been an explosion outside the aircraft".

CRASH...Pg. 12

Committee muddies waters round air crash

By John Wyles in Rome

"Ustica, it's now an endless mystery," pronounced one Italian newspaper headline yesterday, on the results of the latest committee of inquiry into the loss of an Itavia DC9 with 81 lives in sea north of Sicily in June 1980.

The committee's report, released by the prime minister's office, not only failed to back any explanation of why the aircraft crashed without warning, but it also cast doubt on the conclusions of other investigators that it had been hit by a missile.

Set up by the government last November when accusations were flying that an Italian or Nato military aircraft might have fired the missile, the committee exonerates virtually all previous suspects, including the Libyan air force.

Political reaction was suitably caustic, with a cross-party demand that the Italian parliament now set up its own inquiry. Most attention has focused on the report's conclusion that the possibility of a bomb explosion on board the aircraft should not be ruled out, despite the fact that techni-

cal analysis has pointed to an explosion outside the DC9 as the cause of its loss.

While ruling out equipment or structural failure, the government-sponsored inquiry suggests that the missile theory is weakened by the absence of any activity in the area by either Italian or allied

military forces. It also came across no evidence to support "insinuations" that radar evidence from stations at Marsala and Licola had been doctored, while the fact that some relevant radar tapes have been destroyed could be explained by the normal "thinning" of archives.

MEDIA...from Pg. 15

Syria to be more flexible toward an Arab/Israeli political settlement. Al-Ittihad quoted recent Western press reports as saying Moscow is also planning to supply Syria with Soviet-made Sukhoi-24 assault-fighter planes.

YAZOV/SERRA MEETING: Spanish Defense Minister Narcis Serra arrived in the Soviet Union Tuesday for a meeting with his Soviet counterpart Dmitriy Ya-

zov and Soviet Prime Minister Nikolai Ryzhkov, the Soviet News Agency TASS has reported. A May 23 dispatch quoted Serra as saying Spain maintains a defensive military policy based on the principle of minimum sufficiency. TASS said that Serra's visit to Moscow was the first ever by Spain's top military official.

(Summarized from translations provided by Foreign Broadcast Information Service. Complete texts available from CNARS, 4C881)

WASHINGTON POST (Final Ed.) MAY 24, 1989

Pg. 10

High-Flying Drug Sentry Is Deflated

Loss of Balloon Puts Hole in Radar Shield

By Michael Isikoff
Washington Post Staff Writer

A \$19 million U.S. Customs Service radar balloon that is supposed to guard against drug smugglers along the Mexican border will be out of commission for five or six weeks after being hit by a swirling

"dust devil" tornado that tore a hole of 15 or 20 feet in its surface.

The helium-filled balloon, which normally floats 10,000 feet above Fort Huachuca, Ariz., was damaged May 10. Its absence gives drug smuggling aircraft a virtually open invitation to fly across the southwest border from Mexico, according to federal officials.

"I've got a big chunk of 150 miles along the border with absolutely no [radar] coverage anymore," said Gerald Young, director of the Customs air branch in Tucson. "It definitely hurts our effort to stop the flow of narcotics across the Arizona border."

But some critics say the accident underscores the pitfalls of relying on the fragile balloons—called

aerostats—to stop the onslaught of drugs.

"This is just hysterical," said Jack Blum, former chief investigator for the Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee on narcotics. "It shows how completely vulnerable these balloons are to weather. It confirms their worthlessness."

The Customs balloon program, code-named Project SOWRBALL for Southwest Radar Balloon, has been one of the more expensive and controversial of the federal government's efforts to interdict drugs at the border. The agency has planned what it calls an "electronic picket fence" of six balloons stretching from the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific that will cost in excess of \$100 million over the next several years.

But the Fort Huachuca balloon, the first one launched in Project

SOWRBALL, has proven less than successful in actually snaring drug planes, according to critics. Only three marijuana-smuggling aircraft have been caught by Customs officials in Arizona since the balloon went up in the fall of 1987, Young said. No cocaine-carrying airplanes have been apprehended.

Customs officials speculate this is because the smugglers have been flying around the balloon's radar coverage. This alternative, however, was presumably cut down when the second SOWRBALL balloon was launched at Deming, N.M., last December. A third SOWRBALL balloon is scheduled to be launched in Yuma, Ariz., later this month.

Some Drug Enforcement Administration officials, however, believe the real reason for the low success rate is because the balloons are frequently grounded by Customs officials nervous about the blimps being damaged by turbulent weather.

In this incident, Customs officials got reports of heavy winds in the area of Fort Huachuca on the afternoon of May 10 and brought the balloon down, but it was hit anyway by the tornado, ripping a hole in the helium bag.

A spokesman for Westinghouse Defense Electronic System Co., which manufactures the radar balloon, said the damaged bag arrived yesterday at the firm's factory in Elizabeth City, N.C. Young said he has heard repairs could cost as much as \$1 million, but the spokesman declined to comment on the report.

JERUSALEM POST MAY 20, 1989

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U.S. probe into alleged ties with South Africa

Multi-billion Tadiran deal jeopardized

By JUDY MALTZ

A multi-billion dollar Pentagon contract won by Tadiran last year could be jeopardized by an investigation launched this week in Tallahassee, Florida, into the company's alleged ties with South Africa.

Tadiran is about to complete construction of a manufacturing facility in the capital of Florida, where it plans to produce the highly sophisticated military communication systems ordered by the U.S. Army.

The city had agreed to put up \$2.8 million, virtually

the entire cost of setting up the plant, in order to promote Tallahassee's economic development.

But anti-apartheid activists in the city say they have been assured by the municipality that measures will be taken to force Tadiran out if their evidence concerning the company's Pretoria connection is confirmed. The Pentagon contract in question is one of the largest ever won by an Israeli concern.

Tadiran's spokesman last week denied that the company was still selling to South Africa.

Italy Investigates 1980 Airliner Explosion

By Jennifer Parmelee
Special to The Washington Post

ROME, May 13—A magistrate today told 15 military officers they will be investigated in a suspected cover-up of an explosion that destroyed an airliner over the Mediterranean in 1980, killing 81 people.

While the magistrate's notification is only a preliminary step toward bringing charges, it was the first concrete move by Italian authorities toward pinpointing the puzzling circumstances surrounding the crash nine years ago. The notices were issued at the request of Rome's prosecutor, Giorgio Santacroce, and will require the officers to cooperate with his investigation.

The most widely held—and poten-

tially most explosive—of numerous hypotheses is that the plane was shot down by a NATO air-to-air missile. The judge's investigation to date leans heavily toward that theory.

But military officials, including Defense Minister Valerio Zanone, have denied military involvement in the crash. The Air Force was cleared of any misconduct in the affair last month by a panel of seven experts designated by then Prime Minister Ciriaco De Mita. The panel said the crash might have been caused by structural defects in the DC-9 or a collision with another plane.

But the panel's investigation last only five months—compared to five years for Santacroce's probe—and critics have argued that it is one of several weak investigations that have left the possibility of a cover-

up. In a recent editorial entitled Lies of the State, La Repubblica newspaper lambasted the "scandal" of broken promises by officials to solve the mystery.

"Our public officials, our leaders are pretty mediocre when it comes to their institutional duties," wrote columnist Giorgio Bocca. "But when it comes to blocking attempts to ascertain uncomfortable truths, they function like a Swiss watch."

The charges to which the officers will presumably eventually have to answer include false testimony and destruction of evidence. The officers were on duty at radar stations at Licola, near Naples, and the Sicilian port of Marsala on the night of June 27, 1980, when the plane plunged out of a clear summer sky and into the sea near the island of Ustica.

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recent NATO summit for deep cuts in conventional forces in Europe. "I believe we should take the risk that the Soviets are serious in their desire to reach genuine arms reductions with the West," Reagan said.

So long as the threat of communism remains, he said, NATO must remain strong. But "if we continue our quest for peace," he said, "there may not even be a need for NATO in another 40 years."

The retired president took a more cautious line in discussing technology transfers to the Soviet Union.

Noting that despite liberalization, the Russians recently had made it illegal for individuals to obtain a computer printer or a copying machine from abroad, he asked: "Why should we sell the Soviet Union sophisticated computers when it will not allow its own citizens simple things like copying machines?"

But his main theme was that the new communications technology is undermining authoritarian governments everywhere, or, as he put it, "the Goliath of totalitarian control will rapidly be brought down by the David of the microchip."

Citing Churchill as the preeminent example of a leader who understood the power of words in a mass-communication age, Reagan said technology has now immensely magnified that impact—through personal computers, satellite television, telexes and tape recorders.

"More than arms, more than diplomacy, the communications revolution will be the greatest force for advancement of freedom in the world," he said.

Although the brutal repression of the prodemocracy demonstrators in Beijing may argue otherwise, Reagan declared, "those heroic Chinese students who gave their lives have released the spirit of democracy and it cannot be called back."

Congress right about FSX deal

CONGRESS HAS TAKEN A LONG, hard look at the proposed deal between Japan and the United States to develop a short-range fighter of the future: and found it wanting.

The House this week joined the Senate in disapproving the deal worked out by the Bush administration authorizing the development of the FSX fighter. The votes are insufficient to stand up to a presidential veto, so the controversial deal will proceed. But Congress was correct to note the flaws in the international agreement.

The FSX is a deal which shouldn't have been made. It is based on the erroneous assumption that the Japanese, if left to their own devices, can build better high-tech products than Americans.

But when it comes to world class, high performance, combat and commercial aircraft American firms rule the skies. In combat craft, the computer source codes inte-

grating the weapons and maneuvering systems are unmatched by any other.

However, instead of purchasing the F-16, the world's best fighter, Japan decided to build its own. The Reagan administration assumed Japan could build a better jet within a decade and pleaded for the right to participate. President Bush pressed for a better deal calling for American participation in about 40 percent of the development and production of the multi-billion dollar project.

The deal is just a non-binding "memo of understanding" between the Secretary of State and the Japanese ambassador to the U.S. The new Japanese administration can ignore it once it receives the critical American technology.

It would have been better to let the Japanese try to compete on an equal plane with American technology. Since that did not occur, at least Congress has stated where American interests lie.

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staff. "The National Aero-Space Plane program is clearly a model of how American firms must work together to meet the competitive challenge posed by Western Europe and Japan."

Potential foreign competition has become a critical lobbying point of aerospace companies in the space-plane program. They point to a \$16 billion, 20-year commitment by the Japanese to develop a hypersonics program, \$200 million in funding approved by West Germany for its Sanger space-plane program, and an aggressive push by the Soviet Union into hypersonics as well.

The National Aero-Space Plane "is the kind of program that the country needs to keep our pre-eminence in the industry," said Hershel Sams, vice president and general manager of the space-plane program for McDonnell. "By the 21st century shuttle technology will be 30 years old."

The budget battle in Washington is causing the aerospace contractors involved in the space-plane program to rethink their commitments to it. They predict that the program will be delayed even if all of the funding is restored.

"There is no question that the confusion caused by the funding flux will slow the program down," said Rocketdyne's Weisberg.

During the wait, Rocketdyne has put on hold its construction of a \$16 million hypersonic shock tunnel, a test facility to simulate orbital-speed conditions that would be 40 times larger than any existing facility of its type.

"It is up in the air, but it has not been canceled," Weisberg said.

Meanwhile, officials at General Dynamics and McDonnell Douglas say they are proceeding normally on their space-plane work. McDonnell has about 280 employees working on the program, with most at McDonnell Aircraft Co. in St. Louis. General Dynamics has about 250 people working on the program, with most of those in Fort Worth.

TI... from Pg. 9

sign and develop advanced radar systems for both the Navy's and the U.S. Air Force's next-generation aircraft.

A team of TI and Westinghouse won radar contracts from two industry teams competing to build the Air Force Advanced Tactical Fighter. The contracts could be worth billions when the fighter moves into production.

Despite cuts, Soviets seen stronger

By Rowan Scarborough
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The Soviet Union, despite promises of a 14 percent cut in defense spending, continues to modernize its nuclear arsenal and produce fighter aircraft that nearly rival U.S. capability, Air Force Secretary Donald B. Rice said yesterday.

In those areas, "we certainly don't see any change downward. We don't see any reflection of their espoused defensive philosophy," Mr. Rice said, during a luncheon meeting with editors and reporters of The Washington Times.

Mr. Rice said cuts in Soviet defense outlays would not translate into a less potent force. "In fact, there's every reason to believe the way they're headed at this point that, while they're going to be reducing numbers, they're going to be increasing the average quality of the remaining conventional forces in

Europe," he said.

Asked if the Soviets were engaging in "strategic deception" in promising budget cuts, Mr. Rice said: "I would not put it down to strategic deception on the Soviets' part. . . . I think we have to be realistic enough to see what's going on in the Soviet Union. While it heads in many ways in directions we should consider [favorable], I think we're a long ways from being able to conclude it's irreversible."

Mr. Rice, like other top Pentagon officials, is grappling with fundamental change in the defense business. Peace signals from the Soviet Union and domestic pressure to cut the budget are forcing service secretaries to do more with less.

Mr. Rice, who was president of Rand Corp. before becoming Air Force secretary in May, is conducting a management review to see if he can weed out duplication in tasks and speed up weapons procurement.

"We're going to be proposing changes in organization or some of our acquisition activities. You'll be hearing more about that before too long," he said. "We're looking at changes in how we do pilot training. We're looking at simple, straightforward streamlining and cutbacks in overhead."

Mr. Rice defended two major weapon systems under fire on Capitol Hill, the \$70 billion B-2 Stealth bomber program and \$45 billion Advanced Tactical Fighter (ATF).

The House Appropriations Committee has scrapped all 1990 funds for the next-generation ATF, charging mismanagement by the Air Force.

Mr. Rice, while saying some criticism "did merit attention," charged the committee's harsh language was "justification" for taking ATF money and earmarking it for other projects that lawmakers favor. "I think that to some extent that program got caught in that kind of need within

the committee," he said.

The House has proposing cutting back production on the B-2 until operational tests prove the radar-evading plane works.

The B-2 is necessary, Mr. Rice argued, to assure that the United States continues to have a bomber capable of penetrating Soviet air defenses and retaliating against a Soviet first strike.

"The Soviet Union has made a tremendous investment in air defenses," Mr. Rice said. "We have almost none in this country. We have very light air defenses in this country, which means we give Soviet bombers and cruise missiles essentially a free ride into U.S. air space."

Asked if that Soviet investment in air defenses would make the B-2 obsolete, Mr. Rice said the Air Force set up an "anti-stealth red team" in the early 1980s to answer that question. "The mission of that group has been to figure out how to beat stealth. It has not been able to do so," he said.

Air Force proceeding cautiously in spy probe of captain

By Bill Gertz
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The Air Force used "reasonable judgment" in launching an investigation into suspected espionage by an Air Force captain with access to U.S. electronic intelligence and security secrets, Air Force Secretary Donald P. Rice said yesterday.

Mr. Rice also indicated that the Air Force was cooperating with the FBI in the probe of Capt. John Vladimir Hirsch, an electronics engineer based until July with an intelligence unit in West Berlin.

"The Air Force is cooperating fully with the appropriate legal authorities, as well as conducting our own investigation, but none of that is completed yet," Mr. Rice said in a luncheon meeting with reporters and editors of The Washington Times.

An FBI spokesman acknowledged that the bureau is investigating the case, but he declined to comment on the specifics of the case.

Capt. Hirsch, 33, was transferred July 31 from the 690th Electronic Security Wing at Tempelhoff Central Airport in West Berlin to the headquarters of the Electronic Security Command at Kelly Air Force Base in San Antonio.

Pentagon officials said last month that Capt. Hirsch earlier had been subjected to a polygraph, or lie-detector, examination as part of a routine security check and that the test indicated deception with regard to questions about espionage.

Investigators also found classified

documents in a car belonging to Capt. Hirsch, an apparent violation of security rules, and discovered bank accounts totaling more than \$120,000.

Capt. Hirsch also had traveled to Austria, France and Italy in recent months.

The combined circumstantial evidence provided investigators from the Air Force Office of Special Investigations with a standard profile of an espionage suspect, officials said.

After initial press reports of the case, some Pentagon officials appeared to back away from the spying allegations and relatives of Capt. Hirsch were quoted in published reports as saying the officer, born in Czechoslovakia, was frugal and probably accumulated the large bank deposits over several years.

But Mr. Rice said yesterday: "I would say it was a reasonable decision, from what I've seen, to initiate an investigation." He declined to elaborate on the information that triggered the probe.

He said it was "unfortunate" that so much of the preliminary information about the case was made public.

"Because it was clearly premature and piecemeal," he said. "And depending on how the whole thing evolves, that could turn out to have been detrimental to the individual for no good reason. But I do think it was a reasonable judgment to initiate an investigation."

Pentagon officials said Capt. Hirsch declined to take a second lie-detector test and requested legal

counsel. He is suspected of passing secrets to the Soviet Union, officials said.

At Tempelhoff, Capt. Hirsch was chief of the engineering and installations branch of the electronic listening post and was responsible for servicing and installing the base's communications systems.

He held a top-secret security clearance that would have provided

him with access to U.S. electronic monitoring operations and capabilities, as well as information about the codes used to scramble U.S. and NATO communications.

Tech. Sgt. Edward Rasco, a spokesman for the Electronic Security Command, said yesterday that Capt. Hirsch remains confined to Kelly Air Force Base during the investigation.

Air crash mystery deepens

ROME (Reuters) — Military radar operators have started a political storm with new evidence on a mysterious 1980 Italian plane crash that contradicts statements by generals and ministers and fuels allegations of a cover-up.

The evidence given to magistrates Tuesday by three air force sergeants contradicted repeated official statements saying military radar operators did not see the crash.

It broke a wall of military silence over the deaths of 81 people in the crash on a domestic flight of a DC-9 airliner into the sea off Sicily in June 1980.

The evidence also revived pre-

vious speculation that the DC-9 was accidentally shot down by an Italian or foreign fighter pursuing another plane carrying either Libyan leader Col. Moammar Gadhafi or an escaping Libyan rebel air force officer.

Italian newspapers splashed the controversy on their front pages yesterday under headlines like "Nine Years of Lies" and "The Lies of the Generals."

Ugo Pecchioli, a leader of the opposition Communist Party, demanded an immediate parliamentary debate.

"Members of the government, chiefs of staff, senior leaders of the armed forces have deliberately and shamelessly lied to Parliament and the country. Whoever is responsible for hiding the truth must be made to answer," he said.

Paolo Battistuzzi, Chamber of Deputies leader for the Liberal Party — a member of the five-party government — demanded a parliamentary statement by the defense minister.

Italian Think Tank's Report Suggests U.S. Military Role in 1980 Airliner Crash

By LAURA COLEY

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
MILAN, Italy—Nine years ago today, an Italian commercial airliner on its way to Palermo from Bologna crashed into the sea near the Sicilian island of Ustica, killing all 81 people aboard. The cause of the crash has never been determined.

Now, a report by an Italian think tank puts forward a controversial theory: The plane most likely was shot down by a Sidewinder AIM-9L missile. The only force in the Mediterranean that certainly had such a missile in June 1980 was the U.S. Sixth Fleet, the report adds.

The U.S. always has denied any responsibility for the crash. A spokeswoman for the U.S. Embassy in Rome reiterated American statements that no U.S. fighters were flying in the area at the time of the crash. The only U.S. aircraft carrier in the Mediterranean at the time, the USS Saratoga, was in port in Naples, she said.

In Washington, a Pentagon spokesman said: "We did not have anybody in the area."

In the nine years since the so-called Ustica disaster, the crash has been one of Italy's most talked-about mysteries. Many people, including Italian investigating magistrates, politicians and the victims' relatives, believe there has been a cover-up; crucial military radar records at two separate monitoring posts near the area disappeared shortly after the accident.

But whom a cover-up would be protecting has never been clear. Speculation on the cause of the crash has ranged from a terrorist bomb to a Libyan missile to a tragic mistake by Italy's own military. So far, nothing has been proved.

The new report, by the environmentalist-supported Research Institute for Disarmament, Development and Peace, doesn't speculate as to why or how a U.S. fighter could have fired on a commercial airliner. Paolo Migliano, who wrote the report, says: "We're not trying to accuse anyone of anything. We are just hoping that after all these years, we can help the truth to come out."

The report begins with the premise that the crash was caused by a missile, a theory supported by several official Italian reports. Mr. Migliano subscribes to the theory because records of Rome's Ciampino military airport show an "unidentified flying object" crossing the path of the airliner at a 90-degree angle shortly before the crash. The object was moving far faster than any civilian aircraft and performed maneuvers that military experts say are typical of an attacking aircraft.

Other evidence also supports the missile theory, Mr. Migliano's report says: Autopsies performed on victims show that shreds of glass entered their bodies far more quickly than they would have in a bomb blast; damage to pieces of the plane recovered from the Mediterranean indicates the blast took place outside the plane rather than inside. The location of the blast, the shape and size of the hole and the estimated size of the warhead help eliminate missiles known to be in the arsenals of Italy, France and Libya at the time, the report adds.

The records of U.S. radar stations in Italy from the period of the crash aren't available, according to data provided to the American Embassy by the U.S. Defense Department. The department ex-

plained that the procedure was to destroy radar tapes after 24 hours, unless there were special circumstances that warranted saving them.

The think tank's report comes as the case has jumped back into the headlines. On Friday, a Rome prosecutor charged 23 Italian military officials who were manning radar posts closest to the crash with allegedly destroying evidence and with false testimony. Meanwhile, a parliamentary commission on terrorism and massacres has taken up the Ustica affair—it is at least the sixth official investigation, but the first by the parliament—and will begin questioning the former ministers of defense and transport this week.

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the entire nation for 13 days in May and early June. In fact, officials said yesterday, so many people stopped working to watch that industrial output dropped 20 percent during the session.

Apart from the economic cost, officials justifying the decision not to offer gavel-to-gavel coverage said that unlike the Congress, which will meet for a few weeks a year, the Supreme Soviet will be in session for an estimated eight months a year. "We can't afford a C-Span," quipped one Foreign Ministry official, referring to the U.S. cable channel that covers Congress.

Last night, Soviet television did broadcast 45 minutes of excerpts from the session, which is expected to continue, with brief interruptions, through Aug. 4.

The deputies face a 21-point agenda that some of them immediately pronounced too filled with complex, controversial measures for the month-long session.

It is scheduled to review dozens of ministerial appointments, elect the Supreme Court and top prosecutors and consider 13 draft laws ranging from religion and the press to taxation and consumer rights.

Scientist Evgeny P. Velikhov drew gasps when he held up a fat volume explaining the procedures for lawmaking in the U.S. Congress. Vice President Anatoly I. Lukyanov won approval of the agenda partly by saying that all the proposed laws do not have to be passed by Aug. 4, but that discussion of them should at least begin.

In his disarmingly candid *Izvestiya* interview, Mr. Lopygin of the defense committee said he favors the eventual creation of a professional, all-volunteer army, a controversial proposal here both because of its cost and because it is associated with Western "bourgeois" countries.

He offhandedly referred to the Soviets' equivalent of the U.S. "star wars" strategic defense system, saying "of course they know in the U.S. that we're creating systems capable

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Boeing Acknowledges Inquiry by Pentagon Over Its Accounting

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter

SEATTLE—Boeing Co. confirmed that it's being investigated by the Defense Department in connection with its accounting practices on certain research and development work.

"The investigation is ongoing, and we're cooperating," a spokesman for the aerospace concern said. He declined to comment further.

In Washington, Pentagon officials also declined to identify the specific projects and documents investigators are seeking. It also isn't clear how much money the investigation involves.

Over the weekend, the Seattle Post-Intelligencer reported that, according to internal company memos, the program un-

der scrutiny is the Sea Lance anti-submarine weapon, which Boeing is developing for the Navy.

The Defense Contract Audit Agency routinely audits contractors' books, and it has authority to subpoena records. The Boeing investigation also includes the Defense Criminal Investigation Service, which often is called in to help auditors de-

termine whether laws were broken and whether the matter should be referred to the Justice Department or other agencies for further investigation.

Separately, Boeing also acknowledged that it's being investigated by the Occupational Safety and Health Administration.

Richard Terrill, assistant regional administrator for OSHA in Seattle, characterized the investigation as a "comprehensive safety and health investigation." He declined to be more specific.

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Justice recovers defense overcharges

The Justice Department has recovered \$14.3 million from a Michigan defense contractor who overcharged the Air Force and Navy between 1979 and 1983 for ball bearings.

Acting Assistant Attorney General Stuart E. Schiffer said yesterday the settlement resolves a lawsuit filed in November 1985 in U.S. District Court in Hartford, Conn., against Industrial Electronics, Inc., of Dexter, Mich., by a former employee.

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DEFENSE AND ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS worked out a tentative agreement last week that is expected to lead to at least a partial restoration of Fiscal 1990 funding for the National Aero-Space Plane. Deputy Defense Secretary Donald J. Atwood, Jr., Air Force Secretary Donald Rice and National Space Council Executive Director Mark Albrecht agreed the program should remain focused on building a single-stage-to-orbit research vehicle, with the Air Force as the prime program manager. The Defense Dept. originally zeroed the service's budget, then reinstated \$100 million for the project pending the recommendation of the National Space Council, which is due this week. The House Armed Services research and development subcommittee voted to restore next year's Air Force funding for the program to its original \$300-million level. But NASP advocates believe funding still may be limited to about \$200 million, which would slip the program about a year—the maximum delay acceptable to industry participants.

DEFENSE
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France Planning to Rejoin NATO

Exclusive French sources have informed the *Weekly* that France is planning to rejoin NATO, and that it has told NATO officials, through its permanent ambassador to the organization Gabriel Robin, that if its conditions were met it could, as a first step, play an active role in NATO's Air Command and Control System (ACCS). This system is scheduled to come into service in 1991. NATO has signed important contracts with such French companies as Thomson-CSF, Informaunique de Systems et de Reseaux (ISR), and Sintra-Alcatel for ACCS's development.

del 21 MAR 1989

Chi lanciò nell'80 il missile sul DC 9 dell'Itavia? **USTICA, MISTERI SENZA RISPOSTA**

Sono ancora molti i lati oscuri che l'inchiesta disposta dal ministro Zanone dovrà chiarire. Come la nazionalità del missile che ha abbattuto, la sera del 27 giugno '80, il DC 9 dell'Itavia. Indagheranno otto esperti dell'Aeronautica militare, che affiancheranno la loro opera a quella dell'altra commissione istituita dal presidente del Consiglio De Mita. Un passo in avanti, intanto, è stato fatto: i periti del Tribunale hanno stabilito che la sciagura di Ustica fu provocata da un missile, e non è poco se si tiene conto che per giungere a questa conclusione ci sono voluti ben 9 anni.

In tutto questo tempo le ipotesi che si sono fatte sono molte. All'inizio qualcuno aveva parlato subito di un esplosivo. Un po' alla volta era emerso il sospetto che le tracce del cosiddetto T4 (questo, come è

Al lavoro due commissioni di inchiesta. L'ipotesi di una battaglia aerea finita tragicamente

emerso da alcune perizie, il tipo di esplosivo usato) fossero di provenienza esterna. E si era ipotizzata la pista di un missile, lanciato chissà da chi.

Ma non esisteva alcun riscontro oggettivo. Mancava la registrazione radar, sia di Marsala che di Lido, due basi militari che dovrebbero controllare la sicurezza dei nostri cieli. La verità restava a 3.500 metri di profondità con la carcassa dell'aereo Itavia. Rimanevano solo le tracce rilevate da Ciampino: l'unico centro radar ad aver registrato sulla scia del DC9 la presenza di aerei supersonici. Quale interpretazione dare? Come spiegare quelle presenze misteriose? Già l'esperto americano John Macidull, il primo ad aver analizzato le registrazioni di

Ciampino, fa rilevare l'esistenza di un oggetto («si comportava come un cacciatore»), che prima dell'esplosione virò verso Est. Successivamente, due oggetti volanti attraversano l'area del disastro «ad alta velocità». Quella sera (l'ipotesi non è una novità) potrebbe esserci stata una battaglia aerea, conclusasi tragicamente per un banalissimo errore. Il missile potrebbe essere finito sul DC 9, attratto da una fonte di calore maggiore rispetto a quella del caccia. Ma è solo un'ipotesi. Proprio quella sera del disastro - qualcuno fa poi notare - nei cieli di Ustica la flotta americana era in stato di allerta. Poche ore prima del volo Itavia, nel Mediterraneo era transitato l'aereo dell'allora Presidente Carter. Nel Golfo

di Napoli era ancorata la portaerei Saratoga. In questa circostanza qualcuno parla di una sfida aerea intrapresa tra gli Awacs americani e due Mig libici. Intanto, la commissione istituita dal presidente del Consiglio, che avrebbe dovuto consegnare i risultati il 7 marzo scorso, ha avuto una proroga di 3 mesi, mentre i legali dei familiari delle vittime hanno annunciato una serie di iniziative. Tra queste, c'è la richiesta di un dibattito alla Camera, mentre al giudice istruttore Bucarelli si chiede il rispetto del termine massimo di due mesi dal deposito della perizia tecnica, per la conclusione dell'istruttoria. Al giudice è stato anche consegnato un elenco di nominativi di alcune persone sospettate dagli avvocati di essere responsabili di depistaggi o di occultamenti e distruzioni di prove.

Doc 9/6

I misteri di Parigi

Pia Luisa Bianco - Luigi Irdi

Cosa c'era di misterioso nella gara di appalto che assegnò alla ditta francese Ifremer i lavori per il recupero del Dc9 abbattuto da un missile nel cielo di Ustica il 27 giugno 1980? E ciò che si stanno chiedendo da un paio di settimane i servizi segreti italiani. È il governo che vuole sapere, che ha chiesto ai servizi di ricostruire la storia di quell'appalto: troppe cose non tornano. Vediamo.

Siamo nell'ottobre 1980 e il sostituto procuratore della Repubblica di Roma Giorgio Santacroce, incaricato di indagare sul disastro del Dc9 abbattuto il 27 giugno nei cieli di Ustica, chiede per la prima volta che siano recuperati i resti dell'aereo. Ormai già si fa strada l'ipotesi che il Dc9 sia stato colpito da un missile. Santacroce invia la sua richiesta al ministero dei Trasporti (allora regnante il socialista Vincenzo Balzamo). «Mai ottenuto una risposta», ha dichiarato Santacroce all'Europeo.

Andiamo avanti. Il ministero studia la questione e abbozza un disegno di legge per lo stanziamento necessario. Ci vogliono circa dieci miliardi. Balzamo gira la pratica alla presidenza del Consiglio. Nel marzo 1983, quando capo del governo è Amintore Fanfani (per un periodo di soli sei mesi), da Palazzo Chigi parte una lettera di risposta al ministro dei trasporti Mario Casalinuovo, ministro per un breve periodo: «I soldi non ci sono. Veditela tu col budget del ministero dei Trasporti». E tutto si ferma lì. Giorgio Santacroce torna alla carica. Nell'atto di formalizzazione dell'inchiesta (affidata poi al giudice istruttore Vittorio Bucarelli) il magistrato ripete daccapo: «Per capire qualcosa di questo giallo, è indispensabile recuperare l'aereo». Siamo sempre nel 1983 e da allora, per tre anni, le richieste del giudice rimangono lettera morta.

Piena estate 1986. Il presidente della Repubblica Francesco Cossiga (già presidente del Consiglio nei giorni della sciagura di Ustica) interviene personalmente. E chiede al governo Craxi: «Cosa si aspetta per tirare su dal fondo del mare il relitto dell'aereo?». Da qui tutto si rimette in moto. Bettino Craxi incarica il suo braccio destro Giuliano Amato di risolvere la questione. I soldi sono pre-

sto trovati attingendo ai fondi riservati della presidenza del Consiglio. «Sono stato io a spingere per la verità», ha ricordato pochi giorni fa il segretario socialista. Intendendo anche: «C'è qualcuno che non può dire altrettanto». Il riferimento, nemmeno troppo velato, è per Giovanni Spadolini e per il suo governo (durato fino al dicembre '82) che non fu capace di trovare i fondi.

La patria parte dunque al recupero del relitto e la giustizia sembra avvicinarsi al suo obiettivo. Ma ecco che l'intrigo si complica di nuovo. Chi deve occuparsi dell'operazione? Chi tirerà su l'aereo? Si tratta di un aereo italiano, caduto nel cielo italiano, quasi sicuramente abbattuto da un missile. Anzi, sia Craxi sia Amato ne sono arciconvinti. Bettino ha raccontato: «Ho riletto nel 1986 le inchieste già fatte. Ho chiesto chiarimenti all'aeronautica militare e ai servizi segreti. Mi sono convinto che è stato un missile da guerra».

La gara di appalto, in realtà una

semplice trattativa privata, viene vinta dalla società francese a partecipazione statale Ifremer. Il contratto è stipulato con il giudice istruttore Vittorio Bucarelli che in quel momento rappresenta lo Stato italiano. I motivi ufficiali sono due: primo, l'offerta dell'Ifremer è considerata economicamente ragionevole. Secondo: l'Ifremer è la ditta più attrezzata e tecnologicamente avanzata per simili operazioni. Tutto logico.

E invece no. In primo luogo è chiaro che nel recupero del Dc9 c'è un forte interesse nazionale. Soprattutto se ad abbattere l'aereo è stato, come ormai sembra fuori discussione, un missile straniero. E già curioso quindi che i lavori vengano affidati a un paese che, a torto o a ragione, è compreso nella lista dei sospetti. Secondo: non è vero che i francesi dell'Ifremer fossero allora gli unici in grado di tirare su il relitto. Gli americani avevano offerto la loro collaborazione. Anzi, proprio il governo Craxi aveva preso contatti con l'ambasciata americana a Roma. E il governo Usa aveva messo a disposizione un sommergibile da alte profondità per fotografare e rilevare le

coordinate del relitto. La missione americana ebbe luogo. Il sommergibile scattò le fotografie e localizzò naturalmente i relitti. La collaborazione Usa si interruppe lì. Il messaggio degli americani fu chiarissimo. Racconta un perito della commissione d'inchiesta del ministero dei Trasporti: «Ci fecero capire che in questa storia, una volta eseguiti i rilevamenti, non volevano più entrare». Ciò che tuttavia rende sospetta tutta la vicenda e che ha sollecitato l'attenzione dei nostri Oot, è il silenzio assoluto con cui all'epoca venne esclusa, forse troppo sbrigativamente, l'offerta della società italiana Saipem, del gruppo Eni.

Ha dichiarato all'Europeo il presidente della Saipem Giovanni Dell'Orto, democristiano: «In quei giorni scrivemmo una lettera alla presidenza del Consiglio per offrire la nostra disponibilità all'operazione. Nessuno ci ha mai risposto. Il magistrato preferì l'Ifremer. Noi, una ditta italiana, avremmo potuto farlo. È vero: non avevamo un battello in grado di scendere a quelle profondità, ma avremmo potuto benissimo trovarlo sul mercato, noleggiarlo, magari dalla stessa Ifremer. Invece fummo esclusi». Perché ne-

suno fino ad ora ha mai rivelato l'esistenza di una qualificata offerta italiana?

Tagliata fuori la Saipem, la ditta Ifremer, la cui base operativa è a Tolone, porto militare francese, ottiene la commessa e comincia a lavorare. Nel giugno 1987 i tecnici francesi recuperano la scatola nera del Dc9. Dichiarò Dominique Girard, direttore delle operazioni navali della Ifremer: «Grazie alle nostre attrezzature abbiamo potuto rapidamente localizzare il Dc9». Ma come? Giuliano Amato non aveva già ottenuto un anno prima dalla marina americana un diffuso rilevamento fotografico sottomarino e quindi anche le coordinate precise del relitto? Non restava che ripescare i resti dell'aereo. Perché l'Ifremer è ripartita da zero, perdendo tanto prezioso tempo? Sono stati passati ai francesi i dati rac-

coldi dalla marina statunitense oppure no?

Nel mare delle congetture che per otto anni si sono affollate intorno al mistero del Dc9, non può essere un caso se i nostri servizi di informazione hanno proprio oggi riesumato i documenti relativi all'appalto Ifremer. Proprio oggi che rispunta la pista di un caccia straniero. I servizi segreti italiani stanno inseguendo una possibile pista francese.

Sin dal giugno 1980, quando l'*Evening Standard* di Londra azzardò l'ipotesi di un missile sparato da un caccia decollato dalla portaerei francese *Clemenceau*, il governo di Parigi fece notare che la portaerei, il 27 giugno di quell'anno, aveva dato fondo all'ancora nel porto di Tolone proprio quella mattina e che addirittura i suoi aerei da combattimento erano rientrati in patria il giorno prima. I francesi aggiunsero che, in

ogni caso, i caccia Super Etendard non hanno un'autonomia operativa in grado di farli volare fino a Ustica. Tesi sottoscritte anche dalla Difesa italiana. Dimenticando tuttavia che: primo, l'aeronautica francese dispone di basi in Corsica e quindi in pieno Tirreno centrale. Secondo: che nella base corsa di Calvi, ha il suo quartier generale il reggimento Onzième Choc, un reparto speciale abilitato a sofisticate operazioni belliche di pronto intervento. Anche aeronautiche.

Qualche incomprensione, inoltre, deve esserci stata tra i servizi segreti italiani e francesi all'epoca dell'incidente. Al Sismi (Servizio informazioni militari) che 24 ore dopo la sciagura chiedeva chiarimenti ai servizi segreti francesi (Sdece), il conte Alexandre De Marenche, capo delle spie di Parigi, evitava addirittura di rispondere. Il governo francese ha più tardi negato di aver mai ricevuto il fonogramma del Sismi. Qualcuno di certo, tra i due, ha mentito.

Un fatto è fuori discussione. Se c'è stata una vasta operazione di copertura della verità, questa è cominciata un minuto dopo il disastro di Ustica. I servizi segreti italiani dell'epoca hanno sempre mostrato scarso entusiasmo nell'esaminare la tesi del missile omicida, di qualunque nazionalità esso potesse essere.

Ha dichiarato il 30 settembre 1986 davanti alla Camera l'allora sottose-

gretario alla presidenza del Consiglio Giuliano Amato: «Il Sismi non ha fatto nessuna indagine. Solo tre o quattro accertamenti». Interpellato dall'*Europeo*, il senatore Francesco Mazzola, che nel 1980 era delegato dal presidente Cossiga al controllo dei servizi di sicurezza, ha precisato meglio: «Né in via ufficiale, né in via ufficiosa venne allora formulata dai servizi l'ipotesi del missile. Nella maniera più assoluta. Ustica fu considerato un fatto di cui non era necessario occuparsi a livello di intelligence».

Tutto questo è, a dir poco, molto strano. Tanto più che il 27 giugno 1980 cade al centro di una successione di giorni in cui nel cielo del Mediterraneo c'è un viavai infernale di capi di Stato, generali, ministri degli Esteri. L'allora presidente degli Stati Uniti Jimmy Carter scorrazza da Roma a Madrid a Lisbona. A Venezia si chiude, il 23 giugno, il vertice dei sette paesi più industrializzati con brevi appendici vacanzieri della signora Thatcher e di Giscard d'Estaing. E proprio il 27, giorno della sciagura, lasciano Ankara in Turchia i ministri degli Esteri della Nato che al sono accapigliati sul problema degli euromissili strategici. Compreso il ministro degli Esteri italiano Emilio Colombo che vola verso casa.

È chiaro che, con un simile traffico, e di cotanto rango, i cieli, i mari, ogni centimetro cubico di aria, fossero controllati da una miriade di servizi di sicurezza, di scorte aeree militari, da una sconosciuta quantità di radar e di satelliti da rilevamento. Eppure, nessuno, almeno finora, ha detto di aver intercettato le sequenze della tragedia del Dc9.

È un punto, questo, non sufficientemente approfondito. I servizi segreti tecnologicamente avanzati (e

nel 1980 non era questo il caso italiano) dispongono di sofisticate stazioni di ascolto dell'etere e di intercettazione delle comunicazioni. La Gran Bretagna può contare sul «Government communication headquarters», con seimila addetti, con una base principale a Cheltenham e basi disseminate dappertutto, soprattutto nel Mediterraneo, da ovest a est, per esempio ad Akrotiri e Cipro, più altre sconosciute. Gli americani hanno la Nsa (National security agency) con un bilancio superiore di sei volte a quello della Cia. Analoghi servizi hanno i francesi, i tedeschi, gli israeliani. Si tratta di stazioni in funzione ventiquattrore su ventiquattro.

Possibile che nessuno abbia catturato le ultime comunicazioni radio del Dc9 e, soprattutto, del caccia assassino e la sua base? Ed è credibile che nessuno di questi servizi, magari in via ufficiosa, abbia offerto alle autorità italiane, civili o militari, o agli stessi servizi segreti come merce di scambio, queste intercettazioni?

Sono tutti elementi che contribuiscono a sostenere la tesi di una copertura organizzata della verità. Poche osservazioni bastano a capire l'enormità degli interessi che agiscono come spinte contrapposte nelle indagini. C'è un paese, con la sua aeronautica, responsabile della morte di 81 persone, che manovra e intriga affinché ogni prova venga cancellata. Ci sono politici che hanno dato forse l'ordine di tacere ai militari italiani per superiori motivi di interesse nazionale. O ci sono militari che forse hanno taciuto la verità ai

politici. Se oggi questo appare incomprensibile, nel 1980 lo era meno. All'interno della Nato, i governi dibattevano attraverso grandi lacerazioni se installare o no gli euromissili americani. Se in quei giorni gli italiani avessero saputo che un missile aveva abbattuto per errore un aereo civile, di certo Comiso non avrebbe mai avuto la sua base missilistica nucleare.

Ci sarà mai una verità? Al presidente del Consiglio Ciriaco De Mita che chiedeva ufficialmente la collaborazione dell'Alleanza atlantica per la soluzione del mistero, giovedì 10 novembre, il segretario generale della Nato Manfred Woerner ha risposto: «Vi daremo tutte le informazioni che abbiamo». Dal quartier generale Nato di Bruxelles può arrivare un'informazione vitale. La «Situation room» di Mons, vicino Bruxelles, è l'ufficio da cui il governo italiano potrà sapere quali forze aeronavali agivano nel mar Tirreno il 27 giugno del 1980.

Le informazioni della Nato. I risultati della perizia ancora in corso a Londra su tre quarti dei rottami del Dc9. Una nuova collaborazione dei servizi segreti stranieri. La rabbia delle forze armate italiane tirate in ballo come responsabili della tragedia. Sono tutti elementi che oggi avvicinano alla soluzione del mistero. A meno che, di nuovo, qualcuno chieda di recuperare ancora l'ultimo oblio del Dc9 nelle profondità di Ustica. Magari con altri 7 miliardi e un'altra esplorazione sottomarina. Naturalmente dell'Ifremer.

Il Dc9 abbattuto. L'ambasciata Usa a Gheddafi: «Falsa insinuazione»

Scende in campo anche Gelli

Su Ustica l'ex venerabile lancia messaggi in codice

di DANY APERIO BELLA

Un gran fuoco d'artificio pieno di luci sirventili. E la sensazione che sia per avvicinarsi il botto finale. Sulla tragedia di Ustica nelle ultime 48 ore, dopo otto anni di silenzi, doppiaggi e omissioni, sono fioriti gli interventi più stralunati: mentre la politica ha fatto registrare un rapido incescit di fortetti tra il ministro Rinaldo Ossola e l'ex capo di Stato maggiore dell'Aeronautica Lamberto Napolitano, il leader libico Gheddafi dice che sono stati gli americani ad abbattere il Dc9 dell'Isola, interviste perfino l'ex venerabile capo della nostra Marina e quella francese in quel maledetto 27 giugno erano impegnate a provare le loro artiglierie in Sardegna, il Tg tira fuori una nuova pista, tolosa.

Gelli. Quando furono uccisi 71 persone in volo su Bologna e Palermo, la legge massonica segreta P2 aveva i suoi uomini ai vertici delle gerarchie militari, i capi dei servizi di sicurezza, anche di quelli civili, erano tutti negli

□ Il capo della loggia massonica dà una nuova versione del buco della registrazione: 14 minuti. Come fa a saperlo?

dentisti di Gelli. E lui ora interviste con una dichiarazione nel dibattito sulle cause della tragedia come scrive testualmente l'agenzia Adnkronos esprimendolo. Gelli usa la forma dell'interrogativo retorico: «Perché è sparita la registrazione del radar di Maraldi? Si vede che qualcuno lo avrà fatto sparire, chissà, forse avrà avuto le sue ragioni, oppure quel nostro si sarà semplicemente smarrito, o sbalestato, o distrutto, si sarà forse polverizzato, chi può saperlo?». Poi un avvertimento: «Ci sono di incorporee e quella registrazione». E una supfacciente affermazione: «C'è un vuoto radar di 14 minuti».

14 minuti. Come fa Gelli a stabilire con tanta esattezza il buco della registrazione del radar di Maraldi? Su questo particolare c'è stato un gran

□ Navi italiane e francesi erano impegnate il 27 giugno in Sardegna. «Ma tornarono in porto la mattina», precisa la Difesa

e pittorismo. Poco importa allora che abbia anche aggiunto di averne le prove e di essere disposto a tirare fuori «in 24 ore». Eppure Mussomeli, il leader della rivoluzione, è pur sempre un capo di Stato con il quale l'Italia intrattiene relazioni diplomatiche e buoni scambi commerciali. La Farnesina però non ha ritenuto di dover prendere posizione. Gli Stati Uniti invece rispondono con il portavoce dell'ambasciata a Roma definendo assolutamente falsa e priva di fondamento l'insinuazione.

Una e Neta. Il portavoce dell'ambasciata afferma poi che al momento del disastro non vi erano unità navali o aerei statunitensi in manovra nel Mediterraneo e ricorda che fonti americane hanno già smentito, sei giorni scorsi, le affermazioni di alcuni

organismi di stampa secondo le quali gli Stati Uniti avrebbero fornito all'Italia informazioni e registrazioni radar.

Venezia: con-seguenze: su sta- ta fornita alla magistratura la registrazione della portiera di Saragozza, che quella notte maldestra era in porto a Napoli. Anche la Nato ha nuovamente negato proprie dichiarazioni attraverso il portavoce della sede di Brindisi.

Marina. Il «Giorno» è andato a scartabellare la «Rivista» mariniana e ha scoperto che vi era notizia, nel numero di agosto del 1980, di una esercitazione «top secret» di tiro con unità francesi italiane il 26 e 27 giugno a Capo Teulada. La Difesa ha precisato però che tutte le nostre unità navali e aeree impegnate (Armando e Impavido) erano ritirate in porto a Cagliari contro le averse del mini-

no del 27 e che così nell'ora dell'incidente tutte le altre unità si trovavano nei porti di La Spezia, Taranto e Sinesio, quanto riguarda l'unità ceca, il caccia «Guep» fuori della Marina polacca che si trattava di una nave con un armamento artiglieria e lanciamissili, non ha niente a che fare con la difesa italiana.

TG5-Sotto. Il settimo televisivo, che ha ripreso il giallo Ustica con l'idea che ad abbattere il Dc9 sia stato un caccia del tipo, probabilmente italiano, ha diffuso ieri una sua versione testimoniale: una, concludendo di essersi fatta «per dovere di coscienza» da Paolo Bonatti, presidente della Scuola di Ustica che realizzò l'ispezione missilistica di Salvo. Una ingegnere base aerea riferì a B quanto segue: un pilota di origine polacca (da Martinfracon colui che si era abbattuto) sbaglio il Dc9. Atterro in un gran frastuono finiscono e il giorno con moglie e due figli.

Il Tg 1 con una nuova versione alimenta la macabra danza di ipotesi sul Dc-9

«Tedesco il missile di Ustica»

Roma - Non fu americano il missile-killer di Ustica, e il nastro della verità non sta a Washington. Lo rivela il portavoce dell'ambasciata americana a Roma: «Non esistono registrazioni Tg1 relative all'incidente di Ustica». Le parole del portavoce americano sbarrano forse per sempre una porta che sembrava essersi aperta negli ultimi giorni. Possibile, ci si chiedeva, che la porta del «Sara-oga», alla fonda a Napoli, non avesse visto con le sue potentissime antenne l'esplosione del Dc-9 Itavia il 27 giugno 1980?

In otto anni, il governo italiano non aveva chiesto i nastri agli americani (né alla Nato). Oggi, gli Stati Uniti dichiarano di non poter fornire alla nascente commissione d'indagine De Mita (si insedierà probabilmente fra oggi e domani) alcuna traccia radar che smascheri il killer. L'affaire si fa così più intricato, e rischia anzi di trasformarsi in una tragica farsa, in un macabro balletto di presunte rivelazioni e puntuali smentite.

Versione Tg Sette. Il rotocalco del Tg1 è tornato ieri sera sul caso Ustica. Nelle precedenti puntate aveva sparato a zero contro l'Arma azzurra: a tirar giù il Dc-9 Itavia sarebbe stato un caccia italiano che mirava in realtà a un radio-bersaglio. Versione seccamente smentita, prima dal ministro della Difesa Valerio Zanone, poi dal Consiglio dei ministri. La Tv di Stato aveva deciso di evitare il tris. Invece, ieri sera i telespettatori italiani hanno potuto seguire le sconcertanti dichiarazioni di Paolo Bonatti, 57 anni, ex dipendente della Selenia. «Un nome simile al mio - racconta il "testimone" - era nella lista dei passeggeri scomparsi. Declino di amici e conoscenti, soprattutto quelli che avevano lavorato con me nel poligono aereo sperimentale interforse di Salto di Quirra, mi telefonarono. «Uno di loro - prosegue Bonatti - mi rivelò che ad abbatterlo il Dc-9 era stato un missile lanciato da un caccia tedesco, in volo per esercitazioni».

Il velivolo militare, decollato da Martina Franca (ma a Martina Franca non c'è un aeroporto bensì un centro radar. L'aeroporto più vicino è a Giola del Colle, 36/40 km in linea d'aria, n.d.r.), viaggiava in "automatico", programmato cioè per l'autodifesa.

«Sulla sua rotta - insiste l'ex impiegato Selenia - incontrai, fuori orario e fuori quota, il Dc-9 Itavia. E fu la tragedia. Sconvolto, il pilota, che aveva un nome di

chiara origine polacca, Dubrowski o qualcosa di simile, atterrò poco dopo nella base sarda di Decimomannu. Il giorno successivo fu rimpatriato in gran fretta. Fine del racconto.

Il signor Bonatti non ricorda il nome dell'amico che gli fece la confidenza.

Forse, dice, fu l'ingegner Vittorio Calò. Morto da sei anni. La vedova non è in grado di confermare né smentire. L'ambasciata tedesca a Roma, invece, smentisce. La redazione del Tg Sette fa sapere di aver cercato invano nei giorni scorsi prove certe.

Il Giornale ha telefonato ieri sera al centro di Martina Franca e si è sentito dire da un ufficiale (che ha chiesto di non citare il suo nome) che la sera del 27 giugno 1980 non ci furono movimenti aerei da Giola del Colle. E poi, è mai concepibile che in tempo di pace un pilota di caccia attraversi l'Italia con l'auto-difesa inserita?

Versione Gheddafi. Per il colonnello il killer è a stelle e strisce. Un missile Usa. Gheddafi giura di poterlo provare, carte alla mano, in 24 ore (e il sottosegretario alle Finanze, il liberale Stefano De Luca, sollecita Zanone a chiederglielo). L'ambasciatore di Libia a Roma,

Shulgun, ha precisato però che il fascicolo della verità non è stato fatto dai libici ma dagli stessi italiani, con le indagini giudiziarie e con quelle giornalistiche. Tempestiva e scontata la reazione dell'ambasciata americana a Roma: «Un'accusa, quella di Gheddafi, assolutamente falsa e priva di fondamento».

Stati Uniti e Nato ribadiscono che nessun mezzo aereo o navale era operativo nel Tirreno al momento del disastro.

Frattanto, la «Voce repubblicana» critica il presidente della Regione Siciliana, Rino Nicolosi, per aver consentito a Gheddafi, andando a Tripoli coi giornalisti, di lanciare le sue accuse anti-americane.

Presunte esercitazioni militari. Un giornale ha sostenuto ieri che erano in corso esercitazioni franco-italiane a Capo Teulada, all'estremo limite sud della Sardegna, il 26 e 27 giugno. Il ministero della Difesa ha subito precisato che tutte le unità navali italiane erano in porto a Cagliari entro le ore 9 del 27 giugno, la mattina dell'incidente. Anche quelle francesi avevano interrotto l'attività nella notte fra il 26 e il 27.

Con un'aggiunta: l'addetto navale dell'ambasciata di Francia a Roma, il capitano di vascello Jean-Pierre Le-

bas, assicura che il «Guepratte» (il cacciatorpediniere francese chiamato in causa) fosse attrezzato per lanciare missili. Solo cannoni da 100 millimetri per sparare a terra.

Ieri sera *Dentro la notizia*, il Tg di Retequattro, ha invece sostenuto che il giorno dell'incidente parti dalla base corsa di Solenzara un aereo carico d'armi per i ribelli anti-Gheddafi di Tobruk. La fonte? Un rapporto dei servizi segreti francesi. Un episodio forse da collegare alla tragedia di Ustica.

Marco Ventura

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ronautica e dai servizi segreti», dichiara l'ex ministro della Difesa Lello Lagorio, «tutti escluso categoricamente qualsiasi implicazione: se il giudice dovesse confermare la versione riproposta in questi giorni significherebbe che i nostri militari hanno mentito ai politici».

Un sospetto che ormai affiora da più parti. Nel giugno scorso il ministro Valerio Zanone ha fatto ribadire per iscritto ai suoi capi di Stato maggiore le affermazioni di "innocenza"

sempre proclamate. Se le conclusioni del giudice Bucarelli dovessero smentire la "verità" dei generali, questi documenti potrebbero diventare assai compromettenti per i loro firmatari. Il primo a dover rispondere sarebbe il capo di Stato maggiore dell'Aeronautica di allora, generale Lamberto Bartolucci, che in questi giorni ha

acchiosato qualsiasi «falsa e infamante» le notizie che gettano sospetti sull'Aeronautica militare. «Ma ad essere chiamato in causa potrebbe essere un più ampio ventaglio di gerarchie militari», precisa il senatore Antonio Giolitti, uno degli esponenti del Comitato per la verità su Ustica, «dal semplici ufficiali addetti ai vari radar militari ai capi di Stato maggiore di allora e di oggi, ai responsabili dei servizi segreti; è però difficile pensare che otto anni di occultamenti siano avvenuti senza la responsabilità di uomini politici a livello di governo: bisognerà capire se i ministri che allora diedero risposte perlomeno evasive lo fecero per ignoranza, per complicità, o per coprire qualche segreto».

La strage di Ustica potrà far tremare le poltrone dei politici? Il sottosegretario liberale alle Finanze Stefano De Luca, il quale da tempo afferma

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che sul disastro del Dc 9 aleggia «una emenzogna di Stato», non ha dubbi. «Le responsabilità e le licenze dello Stato maggiore dell'Aeronautica non provate; che qualcuno abbia imbrogliato le carte è ormai certo; mi sembra però impossibile che i ministri di allora non abbiano capito nulla: mi auguro possa risultare che sono stati soltanto degli sprovveduti».

Ma c'è chi, come il ministro del Tesoro Giuliano Amato, preferisce

ancora concentrare tutti i sospetti sui militari: «Mi sembra verosimile che gli Stati maggiori abbiano nascosto qualcosa ai responsabili del governo». E così, nei prossimi giorni, lo scontro latente tra uomini in divisa e politici rischia di trasformarsi in un plateale braccio di ferro.

In testa e in fondo ad ogni foglio c'è il timbro "Riservato". Quindi la dicitura "Appunto" e l'oggetto dell'Informativa: "Incidente di Ustica".

Sono i documenti che il Sismi ha inviato al governo e in cui il servizio segreto militare dà la sua versione dei fatti. Una versione che esclude possa essere stato un missile ad abbattere il Dc 9 dell'Itavia. "L'Espresso" è entrato in possesso di questi documenti segreti e li pubblica.

La relazione del Sismi si apre con una considerazione assai singolare: «Sorge il sospetto che i continui tentativi di accreditare l'ipotesi che il Dc 9 sia stato abbattuto da un missile, siano volti a coprire finalità che poco hanno a che fare con la ricerca della verità ed alle quali non sembrano estranei i forti interessi economici legati al fallimento dell'Itavia ed all'entità del risarcimento dei familiari delle vittime».

Quindi il Sismi entra nel merito della vicenda. Leggiamo: «Si è scatenata una campagna giornalistica che, dando per scontata l'ipotesi che l'aereo sia stato abbattuto da un missile, chiama in causa l'Aeronautica militare italiana, l'aviazione libica, le forze aeronavali statunitensi e francesi nel Mediterraneo, coinvolgendo i Servizi d'informazione... In questo quadro viene adombrata una volontà d'insabbiamento volta a coprire non precise responsabilità. A tale scopo i fatti vengono presentati in maniera distorta e arbitrariamente collegati tra loro... Così, infatti, mentre si afferma che l'incidente del Dc 9 sia stato causato da un missile lanciato da un velivolo libico (ritrovato 21 giorni dopo, distrutto sui monti della

Sila), si continua a sostenere che lo stesso incidente (del Dc 9, ndr) sarebbe stato causato da un missile lanciato da un caccia della nave (francese, ndr) Clemenceau».

Il Sismi non crede all'ipotesi del missile e cerca, in tutti i modi, di dimostrargli pretese. Si legge nel documento: «Appare tipico a riguardo lo sviluppo della tesi che vorrebbe il Dc 9 abbattuto da un missile sganciato per errore: in

PAROLE DI SPIA

proposito era stata inizialmente avanzata l'ipotesi che si trattasse di un missile IR. In tale caso però il missile si sarebbe autoguidato sulle fonti di calore, e quindi sui motori. Cadrebbe così la prova costituita dal frammento del carrello trovato nel corpo di una passeggera, che sostanzialmente l'ipotesi dell'esplosione dall'esterno. Si è allora prospettata quella di un missile a guida radar che sarebbe esploso nella zona del carrello. Anche questa ipotesi presentava però dei punti deboli. Infatti, nel caso di un missile a guida radar si sarebbe dovuta presumere la precisa volontà del pilota di abbattere il Dc 9 escludendo quindi l'errore accidentale».

«A questo punto», conclude il documento del Sismi, «viene introdotta un'ulteriore variante all'ipotesi in questione, presupponendo la presenza di un "drone" (velivolo bersaglio in dotazione alla nostra Aeronautica, ndr) verso cui il pilota avrebbe lanciato il missile che, per errore, avrebbe colpito il Dc 9. Anche questa tesi non appare sostenibile in quanto è poco probabile che un'esercitazione con impiego di "drones" venga condotta nei pressi di una aerovia riservata al traffico civile». Fin qui la tesi del Sismi che però, oggi, appare clamorosamente smentita dai nuovi sviluppi della vicenda.

Ma non è tutto. In seguito il servizio segreto militare ha inviato al governo un altro brevissimo documento, firmato dal direttore del Sismi Fulvio Martini, in cui si comunica, fra l'altro, che, interpellati, i Servizi (segreti, ndr) Usa, francesi, israeliani e greci hanno risposto per

le vie brevi di non avere elementi sull'incidente di Ustica. Il Servizio britannico ci ha risposto per iscritto di non avere elementi aggiungendo di escludere ogni possibile coinvolgimento delle forze aeree libiche».

PETRO CALDERONI



I documenti "riservati" del Sismi, sul disastro di Ustica, inviati al nostro governo.

Il documento "riservato" del Sismi, sul disastro di Ustica, inviati al nostro governo.

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I PERITI ACCUSANO

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di Pierluigi Ficoneri
e Mario Scialoja

Nelle duecento pagine di appunti già consegnate ai giudici, gli esperti riferiscono tutti gli elementi a sostegno della tesi che il De 9 dell'Itavia fu abbattuto da un missile. E qui riveliamo il contenuto del dossier finora segreto

Prima Francesco Cossiga, poi Bettino Craxi, adesso Ciriaco De Mita: due presidenti del Consiglio e un presidente della Repubblica hanno già chiesto la verità sul disastro di Ustica. I maggiori leader politici sono ormai convinti che in quegli otto anni una trama di reticenze, depistaggi e menzogne è stata ordita per nascondere ciò che davvero accadde alle 20,58 del 27 giugno 1980, quando il De 9 Itavia, in volo da Bologna a Palermo, venne abbattuto con 81 persone a bordo.

Ma adesso quella verità, o parte di quella verità, è a portata di mano: il giudice istruttore Vittorio Bucarelli ha già sul suo tavolo circa duecento pagine di appunti, analisi e risultati che costituiscono un'anticipazione della relazione finale del collegio dei periti. In quelle pagine sono contenute buona parte delle notizie riferite dal settimanale televisivo Tg 7 che stanno provocando gran subbuglio negli ambienti militari e politici: una pioggia di interrogazioni parlamentari; una grandinata di smentite; la richiesta alla Commissione per le stragi di aprire un'inchiesta; l'invito di De Mita al ministro della Difesa Valerio Zanone a svolgere un «supplemento di indagini» tra gli Stati maggiori.

«Per quanto ne so agli atti del magistrato esiste una verità accertata dal collegio dei periti», spiega il comandante Cesare Plantulli Lamberti, pilota di De 9 dell'Ati e perito di parte civile che affianca il gruppo di esperti nominato dal tribunale di Roma. «Ad abbattere il De 9 è stato un missile sparato da un caccia; tutti gli esami, le perizie, gli accertamenti svolti portano a tale conclusione; sul fatto che il caccia aggressore appartenga all'Aeronautica italiana invece non esistono prove certe, ma allo stato attuale questa appare l'ipotesi più probabile».

Dal canto suo l'ingegnere Ennio Imbimbo, studioso di esplosivi e metalli che fa parte del collegio peritale istituito dal giudice Bucarelli, conferma questa versione: «Nel mosaico di notizie apparse nei giorni scorsi, tutte già ben note al magistrato, non ci sono mai stati fatti accertati con semplici ipotesi; sostenere, come ha fatto il servizio televisivo, che il caccia nel corso di un'esercitazione ha sparato un missile contro un "drone" (piccolo velivolo bersaglio) colpendo invece per errore il De 9, non mi risulta

essere un fatto accertato, ma solo una delle possibili ipotesi. La nostra relazione al magistrato conterrà un ventaglio di ipotesi ritenute possibili. Si è anche detto che il caccia che ha sparato il missile fosse italiano: ma questa è un'altra ipotesi per lo più dettata dal buon senso e anche dal fatto che i comunicati con i quali gli americani e i francesi hanno smentito la presenza di loro aerei militari in quell'ora e in quella zona il giorno dell'incidente appaiono più credibili di quelli dirottati dalla nostra Aeronautica».

La storia del missile sparato contro il drono può essere una buona ipotesi, precisa il comandante Plantulli, «ma non è più credibile di quella secondo la quale un caccia

all'inseguimento di un Mig 24 sconfinato nel nostro spazio aereo (caduto, secondo la versione ufficiale, circa 20 giorni dopo sul monte della Sila Ndr.) avrebbe lanciato un missile finito per errore sul muso del De 9. Del resto, continua il perito di parte civile, «i pozzi di velivolo-bersaglio rinvenuti in mare a mio parere significano poco: mi risulta che in quella zona siano stati ripescati i resti di tre droni; lo stesso vale in coda arancione di uno di questi nell'hangar di Capodichino che serve da deposito al relitto dell'aereo Itavia: "non è che spazzatura del mare", mi dispiace, aggiungendo che quel pezzo era stato recuperato dieci giorni prima del disastro di Ustica».

Da una parte, dunque, le ipotesi; dall'altra le certezze. Vediamo quali sono gli elementi che hanno permesso ai periti italiani e agli esperti del Rarde (Royal automatic research department) di arrivare a conclusioni precise.

1) A bordo del De 9 non vi è stata «esplosione» (provocata da un ordigno collocato all'interno), ma «frangimento» (causata da uno scontro sulla parte esterna del velivolo). Ciò risulta dalle traiettorie, tutte dell'esterno verso l'interno, delle schegge metalliche e dei frammenti di vetro e di plastica trovati nei vicini del aereo, nella macchina e nei corpi dei passeggeri. Un frammento del carrello d'atterraggio è finito nel corpo di una passeggera.

2) A colpire l'aereo è stato un missile. Il pericollone del vano bagagli dell'aereo Itavia presenta vari buchi

rivolti all'interno. Le analisi ballistiche compiute dal Rarde dimostrano che si tratta di fori provocati da spazzatori di metallo non appartenenti al De 9. Nell'abbiacolo sono stati trovati frammenti di «materiali posanti» usati per la costruzione di missili. «Vorrei ricordare», precisa il comandante Plantulli, «che in un primo tempo i tecnici inglesi sembravano spingere le ricerche in modo da non avvalorare la prova che portavano al missile; co-

me se avessero ricevuto qualche pressione; ma quando capirono che non ci avevano convinto cambiarono atteggiamento».

3) Alcune parti del missile sono di costruzione italiana. Le analisi chimiche eseguite dal Centro di Spettrometria di massa del Cnr di Napoli hanno rilevato su dei frammenti metallici tracce di «Fein», una materia che solo le industrie italiane usavano per completare la miscela esplosiva delle testate di missili. Inoltre gli esperti appaiono orientati ad attribuire anche a fabbricazione italiana il sistema di orientamento e guida del missile che ha colpito il De 9.

4) A sparare è stato un caccia. Il missile era aria-aria. Questo dato è stato uno dei primi accertati. Infatti l'analisi del tracciato del radar di Ciampino effettuata dal superporto americano John Macdull nel 1980 afferma con certezza che nel secondo che precedono il disastro un caccia che procedeva in rotta parallela al De 9 e a velocità ben superiore (700 nodi) virò di 90 gradi e si avvicinò all'aereo di linea, compiendo una tipica manovra di attacco, per poi scomparire verso est.

Nei giorni scorsi, in gran segreto, gli americani hanno consegnato al magistrato una registrazione radar effettuata da Ciampino in data 27 giugno. Da questo tracciato, assai più chiaro di quello di Ciampino, risulterebbe che ad avvicinarsi al De 9 sono stati due caccia, uno in coda all'altro: due caccia gemelli all'attacco, oppure un fuggiasco e un inseguitore? Uno scenario, quest'ultimo, che potrebbe avvalorare l'ipotesi del Mig 24.

Fin qui gli accertamenti dei tecnici. Tra breve il responso ufficiale del magistrato il quale, come sostiene l'avvocato Raimondo Formica, difensore degli interessi dei parenti della vittima, «non potrà non indicare i responsabili militari e politici del disastro e degli otto anni di occultamento della verità. C'è già chi si prepara e mette le mani avanti. «All'e-poca raccogli tutte le informazioni credibili dallo Stato maggiore dell'Ae-

LA STAMPA
Manfred Woerner nega che l'Alleanza sia coinvolta nella sciagura del DC-9

Ustica la Nato non ha colpe»

settembre '80 non furono svolte manovre interforze nella zona» - «Ma non posso escludere che Usa, Francia, Germania o svolto esercitazioni autonome» - In tutti questi anni la Nato non è mai stata interpellata ufficialmente dall'Italia

ROMA — La Nato non c'entra con Ustica. Il tedesco Manfred Woerner, neosegretario generale dell'Alleanza Atlantica, alla sua prima visita ufficiale in Italia non s'aspettava di essere trascinato nella bufera delle polemiche sulla ricerca delle responsabilità per la tragedia del DC-9. Ma la sua risposta alla prima domanda nella conferenza stampa finale — che ha fatto da corollario al colloquio con Cossiga, De Mita, Andreotti, Zanone e Spadolini — è ferma nel tono, anzi secca. «Posso affermare ufficialmente che nel periodo dal 16 maggio al 27 settembre 1980 non c'era stata alcuna manovra della Nato nell'area interessata al disastro di Ustica — dichiara Woerner —. E come segretario generale della Nato voglio assicurare che faremo tutto il possibile per arrivare alla verità, fornendo tutto l'aiuto necessario, se richiesto».

E che questo aiuto verrà richiesto è già assodato. Nel lungo incontro avuto a Palazzo Chigi con De Mita, Woerner è stato informato della creazione di una commissione d'inchiesta governativa che solleciterà ufficialmente in collaborazione della Nato. Perché negli otto anni di indagini questo aiuto ancora non era stato richiesto? L'ex ministro tedesco, visibilmente infastidito dal fuoco di fila di domande tutte centrate sul caso-Ustica e non sul disarmo Est-Ovest del quale era venuto a parlare a Roma, si è sforzato nella conferenza stampa di non venir meno alle sue doti diplomatiche. Ha cercato di essere convincente, precisando che se la Nato ha già fornito questa risposta significa che ha svolto delle sue indagini, sollecitate attraverso qualche «canale», per rispondere alle «preoccupazioni italiane».

Ma, nonostante le sue parole, resta la sensazione che, anche in questo campo, le autorità italiane abbiano sprecato del tempo, abbiano agito con timidezza, con eccessiva prudenza, affidandosi a richieste di chiarimento o di cooperazione avanzate probabilmente solo a livello militare o ministeriale, non appoggiate autorevolmente dall'autorità governativa o da formali richieste giudiziarie. Questa è almeno l'impressione suscitata dalle im-

sfuggiti inespugnabilmente all'installazione di Marsala.

Un'ammissione chiara Woerner l'ha comunque fatta, quando alla fine ha precisato: «Se dico che non c'è stata alcuna manovra Nato posso affermarlo con sicurezza perché parlo come segretario generale dell'Alleanza. Ma nulla impedisce che singole manovre vengano svolte dai Paesi membri della Nato. E io non posso certo parlare in nome degli Stati Uniti, della Francia, della Germania o di altri Paesi». Insomma, se la Nato come Alleanza «non ha nulla da nascondere e fornirà al governo italiano tutta l'assistenza necessaria nella ricerca della verità», Woerner non intende affatto prendersi la responsabilità di garantire sulle eventuali manovre svolte autonomamente da altri Paesi nel Basso Tirreno.

La Nato si chiama fuori, ma nemmeno il suo segretario generale se la sente di escludere altre responsabilità, mentre Zanone in Parlamento continua a negare che siano state le Forze armate italiane a causare per errore l'abbattimento del DC-9 nel mare di Ustica. Allora? La commissione governativa appena insediata da De Mita dovrà guardare di nuovo, con ben maggiore attenzione e autorevolezza di quanto è

stato fatto finora, ai Paesi alleati che nel Mediterraneo mantengono una loro base aereo-navale o addirittura ai Paesi rivieraschi nel loro mare.

Altre informazioni si attendono, dunque, dagli Stati Uniti, che già hanno fornito con i loro radar agli investigatori italiani le tracce della presenza di altri jet misteriosi attorno al DC-9 al momento del disastro. Altre notizie si sollecitano da Parigi, anche se la Francia (che non fa parte del dispositivo militare della Nato e quindi ha meno vincoli operativi e informativi) è pronta a ribadire la sua completa estraneità alla tragedia di Ustica: nessuna manovra in atto in quei giorni e le portaerei *Foch* e *Clemenceau* rientrate nel mare di Tolone, ben lontane da Ustica.

Altri racconti si cercheranno per verificare la «piata Etica», per controllare l'eventuale presenza delle forze di altri Paesi mediterranei. Insomma, mentre si attendono i primi risultati dell'indagine giudiziaria, adesso si allarga il giro delle investigazioni, guardando di nuovo indistintamente al di fuori dei nostri confini, sollecitando ufficialmente l'aiuto e la collaborazione della Nato, otto anni dopo Ustica.

Paolo Patrucco

Il Messaggero

Lagorio: «Sì, fu Formica a ipotizzare il missile»

Il deputato socialista, che aggrava le commissioni Difesa, racconta come fu informata e ciò che fece dopo la tragedia

di DANY APERIO BELLA

«Non siete ancora stanchi di fare congetture sulla tragedia di Ustica?»

Niente congetture onorevole Lello Lagorio. Vediamo solo i fatti. Lei oggi è responsabile della commissione Difesa della Camera. Quando il Dc-9 fu abbattuto, il 27 giugno 1980, era il ministro della Difesa del governo Cossiga. Quando e come fu informato e cosa fece?

«Ebbi subito un rapporto dei vertici militari e riferii poco dopo alla Camera».

E' vero che fu imposto il segreto sul sistema difensivo radar?

«Due giudici si dichiararono competenti, a Palermo e a Roma. Quello di Palermo ordinò il sequestro di tutte le registrazioni e i documenti del centro di Marsala e chiese ai carabinieri di eseguire quell'ordine. I carabinieri chiesero al ministro della Difesa se tra queste cose ce ne fossero di coperte dal segreto. Mentre mi accingeva a rispondere che non potevano essere fornite informazioni sul sistema complessivo della difesa Nato ma che non erano coperte da alcun segreto le registrazioni, seppi che lo stato maggiore dell'Aeronautica aveva consegnato tutte le registrazioni al giudice».

Nel nastro radar di Marsala c'era però un buco di otto minuti decisivi. Fu consegnato anche il nastro di Licola che avrebbe dovuto vedere tutto quel che accadeva in quota nel Basso Tirreno?

«Questo non lo so. So che i vertici militari ebbero l'ordine di fornire tutte le informazioni possibili alla commissione d'inchiesta del ministro dei Trasporti e alla magistratura. E ciò non per gentile concessione della Difesa, ma perché era un atto dovuto e ovvio».

Devrebbe però sapere se i radar erano in grado di vedere.

«Quando ci fu la tragedia di Ustica ero da poco ministro. Mi misi al lavoro su un punto: il nostro sistema difensivo era troppo rivolto a Est e totalmente scoperto a Sud o da un aggiramento da Ovest. Chiesi al Parlamento, suscitando polemiche, mezzi per difendere il fianco Sud in primo luogo con sistemi di avvistamento. Vennero Ustica e il Mig 23 caduto nella Sile a dare evidenza alla carenza del nostro sistema di avvistamento. Chiesi e ottenni fondi per riparare dando la priorità

al segreto del sistema radar, il buco del nastro di Marsala, ed Evert fu fatto a mettere loro nelle mani d'ombra»

nei bilanci ai sistemi di avvistamento Sud e Ovest che nel 1980 erano sostanzialmente inesistenti. Oggi siamo un po' meglio, ma non buoni».

Vuol dire che i radar di Licola e Marsala era come se non ci fossero?

«Ho parlato del sistema difensivo, non degli apparati. E non questo non voglio dire che non poteva esservi traccia nel radar. Qualcosa c'era e si può andare a cercare. Ma il nostro sistema radar non copriva tutto, era come un gruviera dove un intruso poteva penetrare».

Da Licola non vedevano Ustica?

«Non lo so».

Il suo compagno di partito e di governo Rino Formica, che stava al Trasporti, la informò dell'ipotesi che ad abbattere il Dc-9 fosse stato un missile?

«Sì. Stavo per andare a riferire in commissione Difesa quando Formica mi disse che era da prendere in considerazione anche l'ipotesi del missile. Indagammo anche su questa ipotesi. Risposi alla fine dell'80 a una interrogazione da parte dell'Flavia sull'ipotesi missile; dopo una ricognizione attenta e ampia dei nostri stati maggiori, la stessa di cui posso al servizio ora Zanone. E l'ipotesi missile è una delle due ipotizzate (l'altra era l'esplosione a bordo) dalle anticipazioni del 1981 e dalle conclusioni del 1982 della commissione Lazzarini».

Ora però il governo De Mita ha promesso una nuova indagine. Vuol dire che ritiene insufficiente la documentazione raccolta presso i vertici degli stati maggiori?

«Il governo ha benissimo a indagare, ha benissimo a cercare riscontri internazionali. Io so che la Difesa e le Forze armate hanno fatto indagini meticolose sulla storia di tutti i nostri mezzi militari. Un inventario ragionato: da noi, in casa nostra, non manca nulla, l'informazione è completa».

Vuol dire che fuori dai nostri confini l'informazione su Ustica è incompleta?

«Può darsi che sia incompleta la raccolta delle informazioni. E il governo farà bene anche a ripercorrere la strada interna alle nostre forze armate per vedere che non sia sfuggita qualcosa a quell'inventario. In questa terribile tragedia l'opinione pubblica è sensibile a qualsiasi cosa».

d'ombra. Il governo fa bene a mettere luce nelle zone d'ombra con l'obiettivo della verità».

I nostri vertici militari dicono di essere leali e testimoni. Può significare che c'è stata una copertura politica su un evento che non può essere raccontato?

«In che senso? Parla di una possibile copertura dei militari rispetto a un fatto altrui?».

Testimonie.

«Veda, la società militare non è perfetta. sbagli ne abbiamo avuti. La fuga di Kasper, i terroristi nelle caserme, la foglia P2. Ci sono e ci possono essere carenze e responsabilità di questo o quel comando, di questo o quel soldato o ufficiale. Ma non si può dire che le Forze armate hanno mentito, coperto responsabilità altrui, o che sono venute meno al dovere di lealtà nel rapporto con il potere politico».

Ma cosa vuol dire il capo di stato maggiore Mario Porta quando afferma che i nostri militari sono «leali testimoni»?

«Non facciamo la filologia dei testi dell'ammiraglio Porta. Comunque penso che leali vuol dire rispettosi del potere politico e testimoni significa che non c'entrano».

Non c'entrano. Ma potrebbero aver visto quel che è successo?

«Io sapemmo se lo sarebbero tenuto per sé, senza dirlo a chi di dovere, senza una copertura politica?».

Appunto, potrebbero aver visto, non lo pare?

«Non alimentiamo la cultura del sospetto. Non si può tenere occultato un fatto che comunque riguarda diverse persone. La nostra non è una casta politica chiusa».

Ma la P2 era una casta chiusa, e i vertici degli stati maggiori e dei servizi di sicurezza allora ne furono ingannati.

«Già, ma la P2 non inquinò l'Aeronautica e in questa vicenda sono stati gettati sospetti sull'Aeronautica».

Cosa stoppe del buco del radar di Marsala?

«Quel che si è detto, che la registrazione c'era fino a quattro minuti dopo la tragedia».

In quei minuti però c'era il caos d'ombra del monte Etna.

«Comunque ora i giornali hanno scritto che è stata fornita alla magistratura anche la registrazione radar della portafoto aerea Saratoga».

Ma non pensa che ora l'indagine sia ancora più intricata con questi giudici Vittorio Emanuele?

«No. Potrà anzi fornirgli elementi in più sulla strada della verità».

Un'ora di colloquio nella sede della presidenza della settima commissione di accertamento finisce così. Con una postilla, acuminata: «Tuttavia ha parlato di un radioboraggio, un drone lanciato da un aereo inglese, e di una coccarda canadese. Ma chi lo dice che sia italiana?».

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del

21. MAR 1989

Nuove inquietanti ipotesi sulla tragedia che nel 1980 si consumò nel cielo di Ustica

Aereo con vip Usa sulla rotta del DC9

Obiettivo del missile forse doveva essere il «segretario» di Carter

ROMA. Un aereo di Stato con una "personalità" non identificata a bordo, era in volo nel cielo a Sud della Sicilia la sera dell'abbattimento del DC9 Itavia. I periti non sono riusciti ad avere altri elementi su questo aereo che, nel nastro delle registrazioni radar di Marsala, viene classificato come "traccia numero 11". Era forse un "Air Force" della flotta presidenziale con a bordo Edward Muskie, segretario di Stato dell'allora presidente degli Stati Uniti, Jimmy Carter? C'era il caccia di scorta? C'è stato un tentativo di intercettazione da parte di un caccia intruso con inseguimento?

Scrivono i periti: «Trattasi molto probabilmente di velivolo a getto, non è sicuro se è un velivolo civile in quanto manca l'indicazione del codice del transponder (radiosegnale di autoidentificazione, n.d.r.); il codice di identificazione (per

Marsala, n.d.r.) è 84, corrispondente all'indicazione di "Personalità"; posizione a Sud della Sicilia. Velocità: circa mille chilometri l'ora. Quota: circa 11.000 metri. Rotta: Nord/Est, verso la Grecia. Al momento del disastro - aggiungono i periti - il velivolo relativo a questa traccia si trovava a una distanza di circa 230 miglia dal DC9».

L'ipotesi che proprio un aereo con a bordo il segretario di Stato Muskie si fosse trovato in qualche modo coinvolto nello scenario conclusosi con l'abbattimento del DC9 Itavia, era già stata avanzata. Ed è stata esaminata dal collegio dei periti nominati dal giudice istruttore Bucarelli. La sera precedente la strage di Ustica, Muskie si trovava ad Ankara per il consiglio della Nato. E poche ore prima dell'abbattimento del DC9, il presidente Carter aveva lasciato il Portogallo, ultima tappa

del suo viaggio in Europa. Ma senza Muskie, che doveva invece proseguire per la Thailandia.

Da Ankara, Muskie raggiunse Carter in partenza dal Portogallo? E' uno dei quesiti ancora senza risposta. Se così fosse, l'aereo del segretario di Stato americano in volo nel Mediterraneo avrebbe certamente ricevuto una scorta. E tutte le ipotesi sull'intrusione di un caccia nemico (libico?), su un inseguimento e un duello terminato con l'abbattimento del DC9 Itavia nel cielo di Ustica potrebbero trovare conferma. La distanza tra la "traccia numero undici" e il DC9 viene calcolata in circa 230 miglia, un tragitto che uno o più caccia lanciati in un inseguimento possono coprire in pochi minuti.

Spetterà adesso al giudice Bucarelli la verifica su questo ed altri scenari proposti dall'esame della per-

sia consegnata venerdì. E' certo che il magistrato convocherà nuovamente tutti i ministri che hanno guidato la Difesa dal 1980 ad oggi, per tentare di migliorare la qualità delle informazioni (scarse) di cui già dispone.

E tornerà ad ascoltare come testimoni tutti gli operatori del radar di Ciampino, Marsala e Licaia: ben diversi saranno i quesiti ai quali i militari dovranno rispondere, alla luce delle carenze e delle "straordinarie coincidenze".

Violante (Pci) chiede che il Governo relazioni subito alle Camere (e i legali di parte civile chiedono che sia De Mita a rispondere). Stansani (Pr) chiede una inchiesta parlamentare. Ma è ancora una volta di Amato (Psi) la battuta più fulminante: "Dimostrato che si tratta di un missile, Perry Mason ha ormai poche persone nella stanza".

Andrea Purgatori

Dall'analisi dei jet in volo la sera del 27 giugno 1980 s'affaccia una nuova, inquietante ipotesi sulla tragedia del Dc9

Ustica, quattro "tracce" misteriose

Il missile assassino doveva abbattere l'aereo di un Vip?

I segnali sono di velivoli che non avevano codice di identificazione. Tranne uno che si riferisce a "Personalità". Quella sera Carter lasciava l'Europa e il segretario di Stato Muskie era reduce da Ankara. La traccia del caccia scompare al momento del disastro

DANIELE MASTROGIACOMO

ONIA - Il missile che ha abbattuto il Dc9 dell'Itavia doveva colpire un altro obiettivo? Oppure il caccia assassino ha reagito a jet militari sconosciuti che minacciavano sicurezza di una "personalità" che stava scortando? Le ipotesi, puramente fantapolitiche, hanno ad affacciarsi nell'indagine, scenario che avvolge tutto il giallo di Ustica. Nella ponderosa crasi consegnata venerdì scorso al giudice istruttore Vittorio Bucalossi, il gruppo di esperti affronta il problema ma soprattutto si spartisce le tracce radar. Veniva infatti che descrivono e analizzano ciò che tre centri di controllo aereo hanno registrato la sera del 7 giugno 1980. Essenzialmente: 23 aerei, quattro delle quali non sono state identificate perché appartenenti a jet rimasti sconosciuti.

I radar non avevano scoperti. I radar non avevano scoperti. Ma dicono, punto-dopo-punto, la esatta traiettoria di quella notte. Quella che ripropone una tesi già avanzata alcuni mesi fa, riguarda la traccia numero 11. Si legge: "testimoniati molto probabilmente di velivolo civile in quanto manca l'identificazione del trasponder; il codice di identificazione è 56, corrispondente all'indicazione di 'Personalità'. Il velivolo viaggiava ad

I resti del Dc9
precipitato a
Ustica nel
giugno del 1980



presso sul nastro di Fiumicino. A quel punto l'operatore ha sospeso la registrazione, per motivi che non sono noti o c'è stata un'interruzione automatica dei dati, anziché questa incomprensibile. «Nonostante questo», rilevano i periti, «rimane inspiegabile perché l'operatore non abbia notato tutte le tracce del Dc 9 in caduta che dovevano comunque apparire in video. E questo perché il radar di Marsala era più vicino alla zona dell'incidente rispetto a quello di Fiumicino». Infine: «La traccia numero 6, quella che denuncia un oggetto che procede a forte velocità da ovest verso est, scompare al momento del disastro. E di colpo, proprio nello stesso istante, la procedura di registrazione cambia da automatico a manuale».

Dubbi, misteri, palesi orlazioni. Il giudice dirige i tempi. E nei prossimi giorni vorrebbe nuovamente ascoltare i protagonisti di questa assunta vicenda: l'allora ministro della Difesa Laganò, l'ex capo di Stato maggiore dell'Aeronautica Barilucci, i militari in servizio quella sera a Marsala, gli ufficiali responsabili del centro di Ustica. Anche la parte civile incalzava: consegnare al magistrato una lista di persone «colpevoli dei delitti», di occultamenti e distorsioni di prove.

rioso si trova a 150 miglia dalla zona del disastro. Del secondo la traccia si riconosce a stento. «Dai dati del radar», osservano i periti, «risulta un oggetto che scorre a velocità di quota e si sposta da ovest verso est. Quel che rende difficile l'interpretazione è il fatto che la traccia scompare improvvisamente, quasi in contemporanea con l'ultima risposta del trasponder del Dc 9. Il terzo jet è quello della «Personalità».

Fra quei l'analisi. Detagliata e precisa l'analisi. E le incredibili «coincidenze» sono riassunte invece nelle conclusioni. Vediamole. Il radar di Marsala ha registrato la traccia del velivolo Itavia circa un minuto prima di quella un-

l'elemento militari solo quello di Marsala era però attrezzato per la registrazione automatica dei dati radar.

Nella stazione di Ustica era invece attivato solo il radar di Fiumicino. Nei nastri di Marsala, si sequenziali della registrazione, si nota un «buco» di circa 8 minuti, a partire da quattro minuti dopo l'incidente, per la famosa cancellazione in corso. Le trascrizioni del centro di Ustica, come è noto, sono state inaspettatamente distrutte.

Delle 23 tracce, appartenenti a velivoli militari, quattro rimangono sconosciute. Mancano il codice del trasponder e quindi non è possibile stabilire se si tratta di aerei civili o militari. Il primo jet misterioso

allora presidente Jimmy Carter lascia l'Europa dopo una visita di sei ore a Lisbona. Erano queste due alte personalità gli obiettivi dei caccia assassini? Oppure, l'incidente, se di questo si tratta, è stato provocato dalla reazione dei jet che scortavano Muskie o il presidente Carter?

Neppure, sostengono i periti, sono ovviamente in grado di fornire una risposta. Gli esperti limitano a mettere in evidenza la serie di incredibili coincidenze che hanno costretto gli uomini della tragedia. Le tracce analizzate sono state registrate da tre centri radar: quello di Ustica, quello di Fiumicino e quello di Ustica. Dei due sistemi di ri-

una velocità attorno ai 1000 chilometri orari. La sua quota era tra gli 11.300 e i 10722 metri. Al momento del disastro si trovava a una distanza di circa 230 miglia dal Dc 9 dell'Itavia, con una velocità di 1.100 chilometri orari. Ma confermano la presenza, in quei drammatici minuti, di un aereo che aveva bordo una «personalità». Qualcuno ricorda che proprio la sera prima dell'abbattimento del Dc 9 era terminata ad Ankara la riunione dei ministri degli Esteri dell'Alleanza Atlantica. A quel vertice era presente anche il segretario di Stato americano Muskie. Non solo. Proprio la sera del 27 giugno 1980, l'

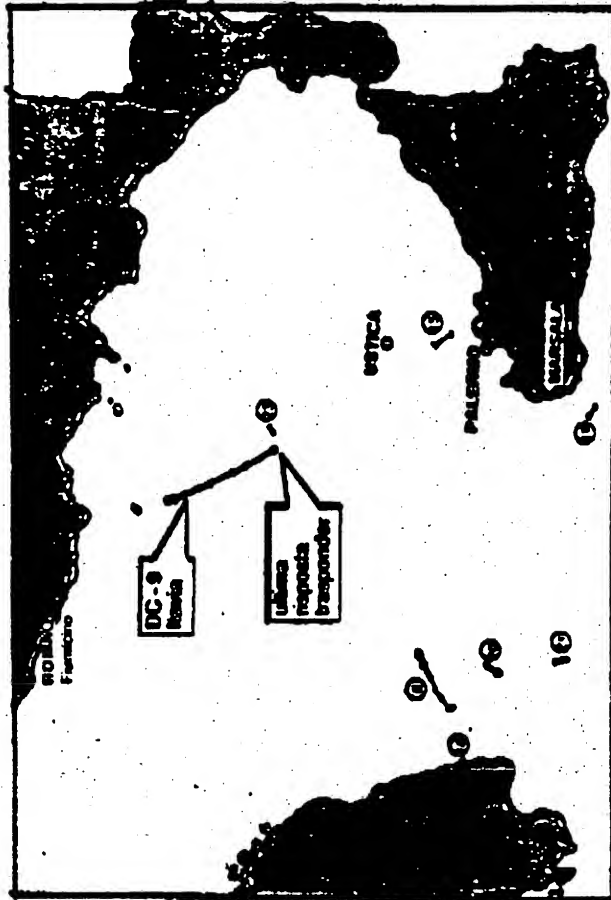
Ustica: un Vip l'obiettivo del missile?

Nuovi misteri intorno al radar militare di Marsala, che la sera della strage di Ustica restò «ceco» per otto minuti a causa di una esercitazione. I periti hanno rilevato stranezze e incongruenze nelle tracce radar del Dc9 abbattuto. E la presenza di un aereo con a bordo «personalità» alle quali non è stato possibile dare un nome. Il giudice Bucarelli sentirà i vertici politici e militari dell'epoca.

VITTORIO BAGIONI

SAN REMO. Dalle pagine della perizia sulla strage di Ustica, a disposizione del giudice istruttore Bucarelli ormai da alcuni giorni, torna il mistero del radar militare di Marsala, che la sera della tragedia fu «eccezionato» per otto minuti da un cambio di nastro dovuto ad esercitazioni. I periti confermano che il radar radar concorre solo il fatto di tempo che va dal quarto al dodicesimo minuto dopo la sciagura. Ma nello stesso tempo sollevano dubbi sulla natura di ciò che il radar militare vide immediatamente prima e dopo la strage.

Il radar di Marsala - è scritto nell'ultima perizia - ha registrato l'ultima traccia radar con trasponder del Dc9 circa un minuto prima dell'ultima traccia radar con trasponder registrata a Fiumicino alle ore 20, 58 prima e 47 secondi. Il trasponder è l'impianto di bordo che, interrogato dal radar di terra, risponde con impulsi che segnalano codice di identificazione, quota e velocità dell'aereo. L'ultima traccia radar con trasponder corrisponde in so-



La sfera seguita il 27 giugno 1980 del Dc9 Italia, abbattuta nel radar militare di Marsala. In alto, la traccia che ha una sezione d'onda nel perit

lito e riflett, che invece sono stati registrati automaticamente dal radar di Marsala.

Si scopre così che il buco vero riguarda la leggibilità dei dati riguardanti il Dc9. E non solo. I dubbi del perit si estendono ad alcune delle tracce (sono le tracce 23) che nei radar di Marsala indicano alcuni aerei in azione poco prima o poco dopo la strage. Una, la traccia 6, corrisponde a un oggetto volante non identificato con certezza, indipendentemente dalla registrazione: resta inspiegabile per i periti perché all'ope-

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polare coincidenza di date e tempi: la sera prima della tragedia di Ustica l'allora presidente degli Stati Uniti, Jimmy Carter, ripartiva per gli Usa dopo una visita di Stato in Europa. Ripartiva dal Portogallo. Negli stessi giorni il suo segretario di Stato, Muskie, aveva partecipato ad Ankara al Consiglio della Nato. E, presumibilmente, che si recò a Lisbona per informare Carter, prima che il presidente lasciasse l'Europa, degli esiti del Consiglio. Poi volò a Bangkok la mattina di quel caso, la traccia numero 11 e la sconosciuta personalità avrebbero un nome. Qualcuno potrebbe aver abbattuto l'aereo, provocando la reazione della scorta e un inseguimento nel cielo del Tirreno.

Per il giudice Bucarelli ha fatto sapere che ascolterà in qualità di testimoni i massimi esponenti del governo e il capo di Stato maggiore dell'Aeronautica in carica nel 1980. All'indizio di aprile i legati dei familiari delle vittime di Ustica, Forcacci, Gabasso e Gambini, chiederanno al magistrato che l'istruttoria sia condotta a termine entro due mesi dal responso dei periti. Al giudice gli avvocati consegneranno un elenco di nominativi di militari «colpevoli di occultamenti, depistaggi e distorsione di prove. Sarà sottoposto a un dibattito parlamentare, con la richiesta che a rispondere in aula sia il presidente del Consiglio De Mita.

Nuovi particolari sull'abbattimento del DC9. Il missile fu sparato da caccia di scorta

Ustica, c'era un altro aereo

Marsala segnalò un velivolo con «personalità a bordo»

□ Quel giorno sul Mediterraneo viaggiavano autorità di ritorno da un vertice Nato. Il giudice interogherà l'ex ministro Lagorio

di FIORENZA SARZANINI

La sera del 27 giugno 1980 un'aereo con una alta personalità governativa a bordo viaggiava contemporaneamente al Dc9 dell'Itavia a 230 miglia di distanza, a sud. L'ipotesi che si trattasse di un velivolo scortato da aerei da caccia riaffiora nella perizia depositata venerdì nell'ufficio del giudice istruttore Vittorio Bucarelli. E trova così maggior consistenza la possibilità che il Dc9 si sia trovato in mezzo a un inseguimento di un possibile attentatore. Quella sera il radar di Marsala registrò 23 tracce di velivoli o oggetti non identificati. La «traccia 11» corrisponde all'aereo sul quale viaggiava quell'alta personalità, che è identificato nei tabulati di Marsala con la sigla «36» che identifica proprio gli aerei gli aerei con personalità a bordo. Ma chi era questo importante uomo di Governo? Gli aerei da caccia che lo scortavano possono aver avuto un ruolo nell'attentato del Dc9?

Il magistrato che conduce l'inchiesta interogherà nei prossimi giorni l'allora ministro della Difesa, Lello Lagorio, e sentirà nuovamente gli addetti ai radar delle stazioni di Lico e Marsala. Dopo le rivelazioni contenute nella relazione consegnata dai sei esperti, si cerca ora la bandiera di quell'aereo da caccia da cui partì il missile. Sapere quale alta personalità viaggiava contemporaneamente

al Dc9 potrebbe aiutare gli inquirenti a capire chi sparò contro l'aereo dell'Itavia. Sono trascorsi nove anni, la richiesta di sapere qualcosa di più su quel velivolo che procedeva scortato, è stata fatta più volte ma non ha mai ottenuto risposta. Il Ministro della Difesa Zanone, rispondendo a numerose interrogazioni, ha già detto che nessuna alta personalità italiana viaggiava quel giorno in aereo.

Di certo si sa che in quei giorni era in corso il Consiglio della Nato ad Ankara, in Turchia. Tra gli altri era presente l'allora segretario di Stato americano Edmund Muskie. In Portogallo c'era invece l'allora presidente degli Stati Uniti, Jimmy Carter, in visita ufficiale. L'ipotesi avanzata più volte vuole il segretario di Stato che va da Ankara fino in Portogallo per raggiungere il presidente, proseguendo poi il suo viaggio verso Bangkok. Potrebbe essere dunque Muskie l'alta personalità che viaggiava scortata da aerei da caccia mentre il Dc9 faceva rotta verso Palermo? Se questa ipotesi trovasse conferma lascerebbe spazio a nuove congetture. Prima fra tutte quella che l'aereo civile italiano si trovò proprio in mezzo all'inseguimento di un avversario da parte degli aerei da caccia Usa in servizio di scorta. Il radar di Marsala seguì quell'aereo con l'alta personalità fino alle 21,02 e cioè esattamente due minuti dopo

la tragedia. E questa possibilità è stata messa in luce ieri anche dal vice presidente dei comunisti Luciano Violante. «Il missile aria-aria che ha abbattuto il Dc9 - ha detto Violante - è evidentemente partito da un aereo alleato, perché se non fosse stato della Nato sarebbe stato immediatamente segnalato. La cosa più grave è che nessuno, nell'Alleanza Atlantica ha detto nulla su questo episodio».

Ma non c'è solo la «stappella

11» a destare l'interesse dei periti. Lo stesso radar capta alle 20,40 una «traccia difficile da interpretare» di un oggetto che viaggia a 110 miglia dal Dc9. «Dai dati ricavabili dal tabulato - questo si legge nella perizia - risulta un oggetto che da quota molto elevata, 20.700 metri, scende con velocità verticale di discesa costante a 11.265 metri, con una velocità sul piano orizzontale molto bassa, in direzione ovest-ovest-est».

L'aereo dell'Itavia viaggiava la direzione-est e si trovava quindi in posizione perpendicolare a quell'oggetto. E' escluso che il velivolo che va in picchiata possa essere un aereo civile perché era ad una quota troppo elevata. Potrebbe allora trattarsi di un aereo militare? La sua traccia scompare nello stesso istante in cui il Dc9 viene abbattuto. E proprio in quel momento a Marsala si decide di cambiare il nastro della registrazione. Questa coincidenza porta

per i periti un «punto oscuro».

Il Ministro della Difesa Valerio Zanone, durante un'intervista rilasciata ieri sera al Tg1, ha escluso che il missile possa essere partito da un aereo militare italiano. «E' stato accertato - ha detto - che nessun aereo militare italiano era in esercitazione quel giorno nell'area di Ustica. Abbiamo compiuto poi accertamenti sulla consistenza dei missili in dotazione dove non risultano mancanze. Per quel che riguarda quel «buco» al radar di Marsala, Zanone ha poi ammesso, come del resto fece all'epoca Lello Lagorio, che la copertura radar nel Mediterraneo presentava notevoli e gravi deficienze. «Nel corso del tempo - ha aggiunto il Ministro - sono state prese una serie di misure di miglioramento, e molto resta ancora da fare. Non a caso la difesa aerea e il sistema di osservazione dei radar in particolare è la priorità 1 nell'ambito del programma di riarmamento delle Forze armate».

La parola passa ora a tutte le personalità politiche e militari del tempo che dovranno ora raccontare la loro versione al giudice Bucarelli. Che dovranno cioè spiegare tutte quelle omissioni che in questi nove anni hanno avvolto nel mistero la tragedia del Dc9 e la morte di quegli 81 passeggeri.

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TALKING PAPER

ON

THE DOWNING OF THE ITAVIA DC-9 AT USTICA IN 1980

- Press reports that our 6th Fleet passed a radar recording to the investigating magistrate are false.
- There are no such recordings that we are aware of.
- Our Department of State has passed on all available information that they have on the two Americans named in your press to your Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
- I note that Prime Minister De Mita has named a governmental commission to investigate the crash.
- Is there anything else we can do to help you?

Mr. Lazarus
OASD/ISP (Eur Pol)
X-72201 L:4:14

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BACKGROUND PAPER

ON

THE DOWNING OF THE ITAVIA DC-9 AT USTICA IN 1980

Speculation on responsibility for the downing of the Itavia DC-9 at Ustica in 1980 continues to focus on the Italian Air Force.

On 17 November, Prime Minister De Mita named seven members of a governmental commission that will investigate the mysterious crash of the airliner.

The Italian Press has fastened onto statements by Zanone and Air Staff Chief Pisano that did not explicitly exclude the possibility of involvement by Allied aircraft. They are off pursuing a possible FRG connection at this time.

Press reports that "the 6th Fleet passed a radar recording a few days ago to the investigating magistrate" ... "from the day of the crash made by a U.S. aircraft carrier berthed in Naples" have been proven false by the U.S. Navy.

Mr. Lazarus
OASD/ISP (Eur Pol)
X-72201 L:4:14

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TALKING PAPER

ON

THE DOWNING OF THE ITAVIA DC-9 AT USTICA IN 1980

- We have asked our JCS and pertinent commanders for any additional information they might have to help your government in its investigation of the June 1980 air tragedy near Utica.
- We are in the process of finalizing that report to you and will have it to you within the next few days.
- As our earlier, but much briefer report stated, the conclusion of the new report indicates no U.S. involvement.
- We hope that this final report is helpful to your government.

Mr. Lazarus
OASD/ISP (Eur Pol)
X-72201 L:4:14

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BACKGROUND PAPER

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Press reports that "the 6th Fleet passed a radar recording a few days ago to the investigating magistrate" ... "from the day of the crash made by a U.S. aircraft carrier berthed in Naples" have been proven false by the U.S. Navy.

We have already responded to one request from the Italian Government for information (copy attached), and are presently answering a second. A copy of the request is also attached.

Both reports indicate no U.S. involvement.

The results of one Italian investigation have been "leaked" to the press with the conclusion being that the aircraft was downed by an air-to-air missile.

Mr. Lazarus
OASD/ISP (Eur Pol)
X-72201 L:6:8

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BACKGROUND PAPER

ON

THE DOWNING OF THE ITAVIA DC-9 AT USTICA IN 1980

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We have responded to two requests from the Italian Government for information (copies attached). Both reports indicate no U.S. involvement.

The results of one Italian magisterial-level investigation concluded that the aircraft was downed by an air-to-air missile; however, the results of the formal federal-level investigation have been "leaked" to the press with the conclusion being that the aircraft was downed by some sort of bomb placed on the aircraft.

Mr. Lazarus
OASD/ISP (Eur Pol)
X-72201 L:6:8

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DOC 101



THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20301

15 MAY 1989

His Excellency Rinaldo Petrignani
Ambassador E. and P.
Embassy of Italy
1601 Fuller Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

Pursuant to your request of 23 March 1989 and your office call with the Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, on 27 March 1989, another review was conducted of U.S. records for additional information that might be useful to the Government of Italy in its ongoing investigation of the ITAVIA DC-9 crash on 27 June 1980.

Headquarters, US European Command, conducted a review of its records based on the expanded questions in your 23 March 1989 aide memoire. Details of the review are listed below.

a. US Aircraft Airborne on 27 June 1980.

(1) U.S. Navy historical record checks document that the air wing embarked in USS Saratoga flew twenty-one sorties from Naval Air Station Sigonella, Sicily on 27 June 1980. The last aircraft landed at 1618 local time, well before the reported 2100 local time Ustica air crash. Also, U.S. Navy primary data files for air-to-air missile carriage and expenditure document zero captive flight or firing records for aircraft squadrons of USS Saratoga or any other squadron of the Sixth Fleet between the days of 26 June and 28 June 1980.

(2) USAF records held at the 7555th Tactical Training Squadron at Decimomannu, Sardinia, reveal that there were no US Navy flights out of Decimomannu on 27 June 1980, nor was there any use of the Capo Frasca air-to-ground range on that date. The records also indicate that daily flying operations by elements of Headquarters, U.S. Air Forces in Europe (USAFE) at Decimomannu were completed by 1700 hours local time. Therefore, all USAF aircraft were on the ground at the time of the incident.

b. Voice, Radar, and Other Recordings. No voice or radar recordings of air traffic in the Tyrrhenian Sea for the evening of 27 June 1980 are currently available. The procedures in use at the time called for such recordings to be retained for only 24 hours, unless unusual circumstances required a longer period. The absence of records indicates that nothing abnormal was detected. Ships in port are required to shut down radar systems; therefore, the majority of the Sixth Fleet ships were not capable of monitoring traffic in the areas where they were berthed.

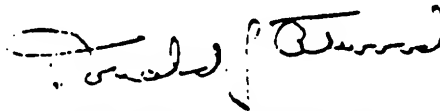
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c. Position of SARATOGA and its Task Force. The Enclosure provides the positions of Sixth Fleet ships for the evening of 27 June 1980. The listing was extracted from the Sixth Fleet Employment Schedule, ships' deck logs, and command histories obtained from the Naval Historical Center.

With regard to your verbal question to Admiral Crowe concerning Italian press reports that allege then-Secretary of State Muskie was flying in the area at the time, the Department of State confirms that Mr. Muskie was in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, when the incident occurred. He traveled from Ankara, Turkey, on 26 June, arriving in Kuala Lumpur at 0245 Italian time on 27 June 1980.

I hope that these comments from the final review of available U.S. records are helpful to your government in settling this investigation.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Donald J. Atwood", with a stylized flourish at the end.

Donald J. Atwood

Enclosure:
As stated

ENCLOSURE

SIXTH FLEET SHIP POSITIONS ON 27 JUNE 1980

<u>SHIP</u>	<u>LOCATION</u>
SARATOGA	Naples (Anchorage)
DAHLGREN	Naples (Moored Molo Angiolino)
DALE	Aegean Sea (En route Athens)
D.B. BEARY	Aegean Sea (En route Athens)
BRISCOE	Athens
COMTE DE GRASSE	Athens
STUMP	Palma, Spain
HEWES	Palma, Spain
MC DONNELL	Palma, Spain
VREELAND	Palma, Spain
FUGET SOUND	Palma, Spain
PAWCATUCK	Palma, Spain
GUADALCANAL	Carboneras, Spain (Training Anchorage)
NASHVILLE	Carboneras, Spain (Training Anchorage)
PENSACOLA	Carboneras, Spain (Training Anchorage)
LAMOURE COUNTY	Carboneras, Spain (Training Anchorage)
BARNSTABLE COUNTY	Carboneras, Spain (Training Anchorage)
AUSTIN	Approx 38 13N, 005 17E, Westbound at 271900Z Based on 271000Z and 280600Z positions.
SANTA BARBARA	Sousse, Tunisia

Enclosure

<u>SHIP</u>	<u>LOCATION</u>
MT BAKER	Eastern Mediterranean (Departed Haifa 26 June, Arrived Augusta Bay 30 June)
SYLVANIA	Malaga, Spain
RIGEL	Malaga, Spain
CALOOSAHATCHEE	Aegean Sea (Departed Athens 26 June, Arrived Cagliari 30 June)
KALAMAZOO	Villefranche, France
RECOVERY	La Spezia
NEOSHO	Kalamata, Greece
GILMORE	La Maddalena
ORION	La Maddalena
SPADEFISH	La Maddalena
LAPON	Central Mediterranean
SEAHORSE	Central Mediterranean
GREENLING	Central Mediterranean

NOTE: Only the SARATOGA, DAHLGREN, DALE, BRISCOE,
COMTE DE GRASSE, STUMP, HEWES, AND VREELAND were
surface-to-air missile capable in 1980.